A CRITICAL

# HISTORY

OF THE

# English SEA-AFFAIRS:

WHEREIN

All the Remarkable ACTIONS of the *ENGLISH NATION* at SEA are deſcribed, and the moſt conſiderable EVENTS (eſpecially in the Account of the *three Dutch Wars*) are proved, either from *Original Pieces*, or from the *Teſtimonies* of the *beſt Foreign* HISTORIANS.

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BAIR

# THE PREFACE.

THE *three* Dutch *wars, which ought to make a conſiderable figure in the* Engliſh *Naval Hiſtory, have been very ſlightly touch'd upon by our Hiſtorians. Even Mr.* Burchet's *Accounts of thoſe wars are ſo ſhort, that they are more apt to raiſe the reader's curioſity than to ſatisfy it. 'Twas therefore partly to ſupply this defect that I reſolved to publiſh the following ſheets. What advantages I have had, to qualify me for ſuch an undertaking, will appear on the peruſal.*

*Beſides this, I muſt confeſs that the very incorrect and partial accounts which I have met with in ſome foreign hiſtories (particularly in Monſieur* de Neufville's Hiſtory of Holland) *have made me the more inclinable to engage in this undertaking. For I cannot but be of opinion, that it is of no little concern to the publick, that actions that were bravely perform'd ſhould be faithfully related.*

*As this undertaking is of a different nature from that of Mr.* Burchet, *it cannot but, for the moſt part, appear new even to ſuch who have read his book. Many remarkable actions are here inſerted which have eſcaped the notice of moſt hiſtorians: And many others are related with ſuch variety of circumſtances, as is not to be found in any other* Engliſh *hiſtory. Beſides this, a judgment is often made of the credibility of facts and (to render the account of Sea-affairs the more entertaining) ſuch tranſactions by land, with which they had any connection, are inſerted; as alſo the cauſes and iſſues of the ſeveral wars.*

*As*

*As I have every where endeavour'd to do juſtice to our nation, ſo I hope it will appear, that it has always been with the ſtricteſt regard to truth; as far as the* treaties, manifeſtoes, proclamations *and* declarations *of princes and ſtates, and the* letters *and* journals *of admirals, &c. join'd with the teſtimonies of the beſt hiſtorians both* Engliſh *and* Foreigners, *could yield aſſiſtance.*

*In the choice of hiſtorians a due diſtinction has been made between ſuch as writ during the time of the ſeveral wars, who were uſually too much tranſported with the heat of paſſion, and ſuch as writ afterwards, who were both cooler and better inform'd. Where any caſe is dubious, the accounts of both parties are produced; by the help of which, any one who can judge by a* Medium *may form a competent notion of the facts.*

*No other remarks are made but ſuch as ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to produce a juſt idea of things in the mind of the reader; and thoſe, 'tis hop'd, are free from the leaſt tincture of malice or ill manners.*

*Throughout this hiſtory, our countrymen will have the ſatisfaction to ſee, that ſcarce any thing has been ſaid to their praiſe by their own hiſtorians but what is confirm'd by the moſt noted writers of other nations; and that there is no calumny, which ſome foreigners have reported, but what is confuted either by others who had learnt to ſpeak no worſe of an enemy than he deſerved, or elſe by the nature of the thing itſelf.*

*I perſuade myſelf that, at a time when our Fleets render the nation ſo formidable abroad, it cannot be unſeaſonable to let the curious ſee by what ſteps* Great Britain *arrived at ſuch an height of naval power and reputation.*

THE

# THE INTRODUCTION:

## GIVING A GENERAL ACCOUNT of the *Engliſh Naval Affairs* down to the Preſent Age.

THE *Saxons* (who inhabited the Sea-coaſt of *Germany* from the river *Rhine* to the borders of *Denmark*) are recorded to have been a nation ſo experienced in Sea-affairs, that they made their computation of time * according to the tides. And that they were not without a conſiderable force at Sea, about the time of their ſettlement in *Britain*, is clear from the numbers of armed veſſels brought over by *Octha*, and *Ebiſſa*, and others, at the invitation of *Hengiſt*; by the means of which they not only poſſeſſed themſelves of a great part of the *Britiſh* coaſt, but conquered and laid waſte the iſles of *Orkney*.



* Seldeni Mare Clauſum, p. 132.

Thus it appears that the *Saxons* eſtabliſhed their dominion over the *Britiſh* Seas by the power of their fleets, at the ſame time as their armies extended their conqueſts over the *Britons* by Land.

And that, long after their ſettlement in *Britain*, they were ſtill powerful at Sea, may be gathered from the diſpute between *Offa*, king of the *Mercians* (who was the chief prince of the ſeven *Saxon* kingdoms, commonly called the *Heptarchy*) and *Charles* king of *France* (afterwards ſtiled *Charlemaign*) about the freedom of navigation; which is mentioned by *Alcwin* and *William* of *Malmsbury*.

If towards the latter end of the Heptarchy they grew remiſs as to naval affairs, and neglected the dominion of the Seas, 'twas probably owing to their inteſtine broils; which, 'tis likely, gave the firſt encouragement to the *Danes* to begin their piracies and invaſions in theſe parts of *Europe*.

However that might be, 'tis certain, that ſoon after the reducing of the Heptarchy to a Monarchy by the famous *Egbert*, the *Saxons* (who were become more firmly united under the general name of *Engliſh*) ſetting themſelves in earneſt to recruit their naval force, the better to ward off the invaſions of thoſe encroaching *Danes*, not only recovered their reputation at Sea, but raiſed it to ſuch an height as almoſt exceeds belief.

Tho'

Tho' the *Danes* (to whom the *Saxon Annals* give likewiſe the name of *Normans*) ſpoke at that time the ſame language with the *Saxons* (who, before their ſettlement in *Britain*, were their next neighbours); yet there had been hoſtilities between the nations of an ancient date. Their firſt invaſion of the *Saxon* dominions in *Britain* was a little before the erecting of the *Engliſh Monarchy*, *viz.* in the year 787. At which time tho' they did little more than take a view of the coaſt, yet the diſcoveries they then made were, it ſeems, ſufficient to beget in them a deſire to return. For it was not long e're they made a ſecond viſit with greater numbers, plundering ſeveral villages, and carrying off ſome priſoners. Thus encouraged by finding the Seas unguarded, they returned from time to time, landing ſometimes in the *North*, ſometimes in the *Weſt*, ſometimes in ſeveral places at once: ſo that the miſerable inhabitants of the Sea-coaſts were haraſs'd by continual alarms, as being every where expoſed to the inſults of a barbarous enemy. Yet ſtill they defended themſelves with vigor, and, by frequent and bloody defeats, often obliged the *Danes* to quit the country, though they could not deprive them of the inclination to return.

But at laſt, king *Alfred*, grandſon of *Egbert*, the founder of the *Engliſh Monarchy*, by increaſing his

his naval power, gave the moſt effectual check to thoſe intruding *Danes*. And his conduct being imitated by divers of his ſucceſſors, (particularly by the great *Athelſtan* and *Edgar*) the enemy was ſoon obliged to leave the *Britiſh* Seas; which, together with their iſlands, were entirely reduced under the dominion of the *Engliſh*, whoſe naval power was at that time the greateſt in the known world.

But after the deceaſe of the famous king *Edgar*, the *Engliſh*, growing regardleſs of Sea-affairs, gave encouragement to the *Danes* to renew their invaſions with greater numbers and fury. Thus the war was carried on, with little intermiſſion, for the ſpace of above two hundred years (reckoning from the time of the firſt landing of the *Danes*) till at laſt, the want of a ſufficient naval force, to maintain the dominion of the Seas, proved the ruin of the *Engliſh* ſovereignty at Land. For the *Danes*, after ſuffering many defeats and expulſions, having ſubdued one part of the country by force, and the reſt by treachery, obtained the government; leaving to the *Engliſh* the fame of having made the longeſt and moſt vigorous defence, that is any where mentioned in hiſtory. For if we conſider the number of battles both by Sea and Land, (by ſome computed to have been about an hundred) in moſt of which the *Engliſh* appear to have been victorious,

victorious; it may, without partiality, be affirmed, that the *Roman* weſtern empire fell with fewer blows, and in much leſs time, before its barbarous invaders, than this third part of our *Britiſh* iſle. Nor did the *Danes* long enjoy the fruits of their two hundred years labours; for at the end of three ſhort reigns (making together about twenty-four years) they were either cut off or expelled the country; having, after ſo long a ſtruggle, introduced but little mixture of blood, and no change either of laws, cuſtoms, language, or religion.

The *Engliſh* royal line being reſtored, king *Edward the Confeſſor* (who had learned wiſdom by the fatal experience of others) applied himſelf to the increaſing his Sea-forces; by which means he preſerved his kingdom in peace, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the *Daniſh* and *Iriſh* pyrats.

But the ſudden invaſions of two powerful princes, at once, rendered all the care and conduct of the uſurper *Harold*, who ſucceeded him, ineffectual. For almoſt at the ſame time that *Harald Harfager*, king of *Denmark*, landed in the *North*, *William* duke of *Normandy* invaded the *South*, without reſiſtance from the *Engliſh* fleet, which was ſailed to oppoſe the *Danes*. The former of theſe was forced to yield the victory to the ſuperior bravery of the *Engliſh* uſurper, with the loſs not only of his fleet

fleet and army, but of his life. But the latter, who came not in as an open enemy, but as an injured prince who had no other view than to aſſert his right to the crown, unjuſtly detained from him by the uſurper, ſucceeded better. For tho' he met with great reſiſtance from the uſurper and his victorious army, yet the advantage of his long bows, (weapons at that time, not in uſe with the *Engliſh*) joined with the death of his rival and his own ſpecious pretenſions, gained him in few months that crown which the *Danes* had been contending for at leaſt two entire ages.

Duke *William* founded his pretenſions to the *Engliſh* crown on the donation of the late king *Edward*; which donation is ſaid to have been confirmed by the conſent of the nobility and people of *England*, as alſo by an oath of *Harold* himſelf. It was likewiſe approved by the pope, who, to encourage the duke in his deſign of aſſerting his right, ſent him ſeveral preſents together with his bleſſing, and at the ſame time thundered out his *Anathema's* againſt all ſuch who ſhould oppoſe him.

It was on the mentioned donation of his kinſman king *Edward*, that this *Norman* prince continued to found his title to the crown, even after the defeat of *Harold*; the ſir-name of *Conqueror* being never aſſumed by himſelf, nor given him by others, till after his deceaſe; and then,

then, not on account of any proper conqueſt of the nation, but (as *Adam de Monmoth* aſſures us) purely with regard to his victory over *Harold* and his adherents. Accordingly, at his coronation, he ſwore to maintain the ancient laws, collected by king *Edward*, in which he never made any eſſential alteration. So that the people of *England* have had the good fortune almoſt conſtantly to enjoy the benefit of their own laws, ſince their arrival in *Britain*, for at leaſt twelve hundred years; and before that (for ought with any certainty appears) from immemorial ages: Whereas the *Romans* could not preſerve theirs above ſeven hundred years from being ſubjected to the ſucceſſive ambition of their fellow-citizens, nor above twelve or thirteen hundred years from being entirely trampled on by the violence of foreign invaders.

Such a revolution, however, could not be brought about without great inconveniences: But theſe were ſufficiently ballanced by the advantages the nation afterwards received from thence. For they ſoon had the ſatisfaction to ſee thoſe *Norman* ſtrangers (inconſiderable for number, and almoſt loſt in the unequal mixture) forget the difference of blood, and glory in the name of *Engliſh*. They ſoon ſaw their naval power increaſed, and the art of war improved. Nor was it long e're, by making

making an abſolute conqueſt of *Normandy*, they opened a way to the conqueſt of *France*. From this time the *Engliſh* (whoſe actions had been ſo long confined within the bounds of the *Britiſh* Seas) began to render themſelves more conſiderable abroad. The naval expeditions, and the exploits of *Richard* and *Edward* I. in the *Holy land*, together with the conqueſt of *Cyprus*, ſpread the terror of their arms among the more warlike nations of the *Eaſt*: and the glorious actions of *Edward* III. *Edward* the *Black Prince*, *John* of *Gaunt*, *Henry* V, *John* duke of *Bedford*, and many others, both by ſea and land, rendered them no leſs formidable in the *Weſt*: Inſomuch that ſome nations have ſince thought it no ill policy to fight under an *Engliſh* diſguiſe. Of this a remarkable inſtance was ſeen in the war between *Charles* VIII. of *France* and the duke of *Bretagne*, who cloathed part of his troops in *Engliſh* habits; as alſo at the ſiege of *Caſtel-Rodrigo* in *Portugal* Anno 1664, where the *Portugueſe* in the ſame diſguiſe ſtruck the *Spaniards* with a pannick fear, and conquered almoſt without fighting.

Though the actions of the *Engliſh* by Sea, even in the remoter ages, were not inferior to their exploits by Land; yet their naval power wanted the ſupport of an extenſive commerce managed by their own people. The

trade

trade of this nation was many years in the hands of foreigners, who engroſſed the whole profit of the *Engliſh* commodities, to the infinite damage of the natives. From thoſe our greateſt kings were ſometimes obliged to hire ſhips and ſea-men; their own people having not ſo much experience in the ſailing as in the fighting part. But Q. *Mary*, by depriving foreigners of ſome of the privileges which they had ſo long enjoyed, firſt raiſed our greatneſs at Sea on its true foundation: And the politick Q. *Elizabeth*, and her peaceful ſucceſſor, by entirely reſuming thoſe privileges, and by encouraging manufactures, new diſcoveries and ſettlements abroad, advanced it to a conſiderable height. Since which, the *Act of Navigation* has, in ſome reſpects, been no contemptible improvement. Add to this what was done in the late reign, when, amidſt the triumphs of a proſperous war, a foundation was laid both for a firmer union at home, and a more extenſive commerce abroad. What ſtill remains to be done, we may hope is reſerved to be the glory of the preſent reign.

CHAP.

# CHAP. I.

## *A particular Account of the* Original *of the* Engliſh Nation, *deduced from remote Antiquity; as alſo of their moſt remarkable Actions at* Sea *during the* Daniſh War.

SCYTHIA (which, in the ſtyle of the *Greeks*, comprehended all the *Northern* parts of *Aſia* and *Europe*) was a country always famed for breeding a race of men whoſe rough tempers ſeemed very much to reſemble their native climate. Yet theſe, either yielding to the power of a ſtronger enemy, or elſe voluntarily exchanging their own uncouth regions for more happy ſeats, have given original to moſt of the politer nations of *Europe*.

The *Sweves* * (in conjunction with the *Getes* and *Saxons*, under the conduct of the famous *Woden* or *Odin*) returning from the *Aſiatick Scythia*, long after their firſt migration out of *Scandia* or *Scandinavia* †, (a part of the *European Scythia*)

* Sheringham de Anglorum Gentis Origine. p. 233.

† The *Peninſula* which contains the kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Norway*.

*Scythia,*) are recorded to have over-run and conquered the countries now called *Muſcovy*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Denmark* and *Germany*, and to have left their name to the *Eaſt-ſea* (ſince known by the name of the *Baltick*) which from them was called *Mare Suevicum* or the *Swevick-ſea.*

A part of theſe, which afterwards took the name of *Saxons*, had for ſome time poſſeſſed divers of the *Northern* provinces of *Germany*, when the *Britons*, abandoned by the *Romans*, and drained of their braveſt youth, found themſelves defenceleſs, and almoſt at the mercy of their enemies. The *Scots* and *Picts*, like a violent torrent, had the ſecond time overflown and broken down the famous wall which the *Romans* left as a barrier between the *Chriſtian Britons* and thoſe yet barbarous *Pagans*, exerciſing whatever ravages and cruelties, either the difference of religion, or the deſire of booty could ſuggeſt. That diſtreſſed people therefore applied again for help to the *Romans*, to whom *Britain* had given the firſt *Chriſtian* Emperor, and, who had once returned to their aſſiſtance; but they applied to them in vain: For the *Romans*, being themſelves equally diſtreſſed by the multitudes of *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals*, and other ſwarms from the *Northern* hive, which threatened no leſs than the entire

ruin of their empire, were forced to leave them to the fury of their invaders.

In this deſperate ſtate of affairs, the *Britons* who had heard of the fame of thoſe *Saxons*, (which was much increaſed by their late victories over the *Danes*) ſoon came to a reſolution to invite them to their aſſiſtance. The *Saxons* were, at that time, pagans, and by conſequence no leſs enemies to chriſtianity than the *Scots* and *Picts:* Yet the hope of rewards and booty, ſupplying the place of affection, they readily accepted the invitation.

They came into *Britain* about the year 430, under the conduct of their generals *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, two brothers deſcended (according to *Beda*,) from the great *Woden*, who for his glorious victories had been ranked among their gods, and had left his name to one of the days of the week, *Wedneſday* or *Woden's-day*. By their aſſiſtance the *Britons* ſoon defeated the enemies; but they as ſoon perceived they had only exchanged one enemy for another: For it was not long e're thoſe bold gueſts began to encroach on thoſe they came to aſſiſt, and being continually reinforced with freſh numbers, they never ceaſed till they had almoſt entirely chaſed the *Britons*, out of the *Southern* part of the iſland.

Being thus become lords of the moſt valuable part of *Britain* it was divided into ſeven kingdoms

kingdoms (known, as was before obſerved, by the name of the *Saxon Heptarchy*) which afterwards contending, for ſuperiority the *Weſt-Saxons*, about the year 830, prevailed over the reſt and reduced the *Heptarchy* to a *Monarchy* under the great *Egbert*; by whom the country was called *England* and the people *Engliſh*, from the *Angles* from whom he was deſcended.

The *Angles*, or *Engliſh-Saxons*, are agreed to have been a chief branch of the *Swevick* nation: Which nation was ſo terrible in the time of *Cæſar*, * that the neighbouring *Germans*, who had made trial of their valour, deſcribed them as more than men; and *Cæſar* himſelf (miſtaking them for *Germans*) gives them the character of the moſt warlike of all the *German* nations.

Part of thoſe *Angles* which remained in *Germany* (for *Beda* was, it ſeems, miſtaken in aſſerting that the whole nation of the *Angles* tranſplanted themſelves into *Britain*) are recorded about the year 588, to have conquered the † *Goths* (whoſe armies had twice conquered *Rome*) to have taken poſſeſſion of their kingdom which they had erected in *Pruſſia*, and obliged their king *Rodolph* to ſeek refuge in *Italy* among his countrymen.

Thus much may with ſome certainty be collected concerning the ancient ſtate of that famous



* Cæſar. Comment. lib. 4. † Puffend. Introd. p. 470.

mous people, which by the expulſion of the *Britons* and the reduction and union of the *Saxon Heptarchy*, gave original to the *Engliſh Nation.*

The reduction of the *Heptarchy* to a *Monarchy* (which united the disjointed forces of the *Saxons)* was far from being unſeaſonable: For the *Danes* or *Normans* (being reinforced and grown numerous, ſince the ſettlement of the *Saxons* in *Britain*, by the acceſſion of the *Dacians*) began about that time their moſt furious invaſions on the *Southern* coaſts of *Europe.* They ſoon over-ran the *Netherlands*, giving, as is commonly believed, the names of *Holland* and *Zealand* to two noted countries in thoſe parts, in honour of the *Northern Halland* and *Zealand*, two of their own provinces: And from thence proceeding to the coaſts of *England* and *France*, they alarmed them by frequent deſcents, and ſpread ſo great terror, that prayers were inſerted in the *Litany* of the *French* for deliverance from the fury of the *Normans.*

Againſt thoſe bold invaders the *Engliſh* monarch *Egbert*, his ſon *Ethelwolf*, and his grandſons *Ethelbald*, *Ethelbert*, *Ethelred* and *Alfred* ſucceſſively oppoſed themſelves. But after many bloody defeats and expulſions, the enemy, finding little or no reſiſtance by ſea, was ſtill encouraged to return: So that the famous

famous king *Alfred* (who aſcended the throne in the year 872,) after a trial of good and bad fortune, in the beginning of his reign, was at laſt made ſenſible, that he might as well oppoſe himſelf againſt the blowing of the winds, or attempt to drive the Sea from his coaſts, as expect to ſecure his dominions by the force of his land-armies, againſt an enemy who made his invaſions from the Sea. Having therefore fitted out a ſquadron of light veſſels, he ſet himſelf to intercept the *Daniſh* convoys, and diſturb the enemy's communication with *Denmark*. The firſt encounter was fortunate to the *Engliſh*, and raiſed their hopes of ſucceſs in this naval war: For of ſeven *Daniſh* ſhips which they attack'd, one was taken, and the others diſpers'd.

But the *Engliſh* fleet being much too weak to baffle the enemy's main deſigns, the war held on its uſual courſe, andthe *Danes* having already got firm footing in *Northumberland*, and receiving from time to time ſufficient reinforcements from *Denmark*, they ſo haraſs'd king *Alfred*'s forces, that they reduced him to great extremities: Inſomuch that for ſome time he was obliged, together with a few faithful followers, to ſeek ſhelter in the woods, where he ſet himſelf to effect that by policy, which could not be done by force. In thoſe circumſtances,

he performed an action that well deſerves a remembrance.

Being deſirous to diſcover the poſture of the enemy's chief army, and not judging it convenient to depend on the uncertain reports of ſpies or deſerters, he diſguiſed himſelf like a muſician, and ſo got unſuſpected into the *Daniſh* camp; where he acted his part ſo well, that, for his excellent skill, being introduced to the great commanders, and by them to the king, he found means to inform himſelf of their whole ſtate. This artifice ſucceeding according to his wiſh, he returned to his friends, ſuddenly drew together as great a force as the time would permit; and having encouraged his men with an account of the careleſs poſture of the enemies, he ſurprized their camp, and obliged *Guthram*, the *Daniſh* king of *Northumberland*, to embrace *Chriſtianity*, (which had been the religion of the *Saxons* ſome time before their union under one ſupreme head or monarch) and to promiſe to depart the land.

Soon after this, another ſwarm of *Danes* or *Normans* came up the *Thames*: But whether with-held by the late agreement between the two kings, or deterred by the good poſture of king *Alfred*'s affairs, they only wintered in *England*, and from thence paſſed into *France*, where they made great ravages.

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The prudent king *Alfred*, knowing he ſhould be no longer ſafe from the injuries of a barbarous enemy, than while he was in a condition to do himſelf juſtice, made uſe of thisfavourable opportunity, to increaſe his naval forces, and to take all neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of his kingdom. He ſoon got ready a conſiderable ſquadron, with which he ſcoured the Seas, and meeting ſome *Daniſh* ſhips, he took two, and in revenge of the barbarities uſually practiſed by thoſe pirates, threw the men over-board. And ſoon after, he had the good fortune to come up with two others, which he likewiſe took, with two of their princes.

But thoſe dark and diſtracted ages admitting of no ſettled correſpondence between the people of diſtant countries, it was ſometimes impoſſible, for the utmoſt vigilance, to prevent a ſurprize, thro' want of timely notice of the enemy's preparations: So that about three years after, the *Danes*, with a great fleet, entered the *Thames* a ſecond time without oppoſition, and laid ſiege to *Rocheſter*. But upon the approach of the *Engliſh*, headed by their magnanimous king, they were obliged to break up, and go in ſearch of better fortunes in *France*; where they afterwards conquered, and poſſeſs'd the country, which is now called *Normandy*. They were no ſooner gone, than king

*Alfred*, with his uſual diligence, ſet himſelf to recruit and reinforce his fleet; as knowing it was but half a victory, to have obliged the pirates to leave his coaſt, without forcing them likewiſe to quit the Sea. The fleet, well provided with all neceſſaries, ſoon put to Sea in queſt of the enemy. Nor was it long, e're the *Engliſh* had the fortune to meet with thirteen of the *Daniſh* ſhips, which they attacked with ſo much reſolution, that after a ſharp fight, they were taken, and all the *Danes* put to the ſword. But as they were returning with their prizes, they happened to fall in with the groſs of the enemy's fleet, which being far ſtronger in number of ſhips, attack'd them with ſuch vigour, as much abated the joy for their late victory: So that the *Engliſh*, after a good defence, were at laſt forced to retire with the loſs of ſix of their veſſels. But it was not long ere they ſaw themſelves well revenged near the coaſt of *Devonſhire*, where no leſs than an hundred and twenty of the *Daniſh* ſhips were deſtroyed, partly in fight, and partly by ſhipwreck.

As this loſs was a great weakening to the *Danes*, it gave for ſome time a conſiderable check to their piracies; till having at laſt recruited their fleet, and reinforced it with a number of gallies, they again prepared to inſult the *Weſtern* coaſt. But king *Alfred*, being aware

aware of their deſign, had provided a larger ſort of gallies of his own invention, with which meeting the *Danes* off the iſle of *Wight*, he gave them a total defeat, taking and ſinking all their ſhips, and cauſing ſuch of the men who fell into his hands to be executed as pirates: Which terrible overthrow and execution put an end for that time to this piratical war.

But immediately after the deceaſe of this brave prince, which happened in the year 901, the *Danes*, who had been meditating revenge, began to take heart and renew their hoſtilities againſt the *Engliſh*: On which occaſion, his eldeſt ſon *Edward*, who ſucceeded him, gave ſignal proofs both of his courage and conduct. For he not only defeated the *Danes* in a great battle by land, killing two of their princes and making a terrible ſlaughter of their troops, but by maintaining a good force at Sea, he protected his coaſts from the inſults of the *Daniſh* fleets.

His ſon *Athelſtan*, ſucceeding in the year 924, proved a moſt accompliſhed and victorious prince. He defeated *Godfrey* the *Daniſh* king of *Northumberland*, *Conſtantine* king of *Scots*, and *Howel* prince of *Wales*, and enlarged his dominions more than any of his predeceſſors. He was maſter of a powerful navy, by which he made himſelf formidable to the neighbouring

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ing princes, who, for the moſt part ſought, his friendſhip by preſents. Among others, the king of *Norway* is ſaid to have preſented him with a very rich ſhip with purple ſails. But the *Iriſh* (who were at that time very powerful at Sea) finding themſelves inclined to diſturb the repoſe of the *Engliſh*, and coming upon the coaſt with a fleet of above ſix hundred ſail, headed by their king *Analavus*, received a terrible defeat near the mouth of the *Humber*, and were obliged to quit the Seas with great loſs.

But the prince, who raiſed the *Engliſh* reputation at Sea, to the higheſt pitch of glory, was king *Edgar*, the ſon of *Edmond*, brother to *Athelſtan*. This great king, who aſcended the throne in the year 959, following the footſteps of his glorious predeceſſors, *Alfred* and *Athelſtan*, obtained ſo compleat a dominion of the ſurrounding Seas, as proved not only the defence of his own kingdom, but the ſecurity of all the trading nations of *Europe*.

To effect this, he is recorded to have fitted out three ſeveral fleets, conſiſting each of twelve hundred ſail, with which himſelf every ſummer, during his whole ſixteen years reign, ſailed quite round the iſland of *Britain*, clearing the Seas of thoſe ſwarms of pirates that infeſted them, and guarding his coaſts on every ſide. He likewiſe ſubdued all the iſlands

of

of *Scotland*, with the greateſt part of *Ireland*; thus adding no ſmall weight to the ancient pretenſion of *Britain* to the ſovereignty of the ſurrounding Seas: A pretenſion, than which, as nothing can be more glorious and advantageous to the nation, when well maintained; ſo nothing more ridiculous, if not effectually ſupported.

King *Edgar*'s fame increaſing, the traders of other nations became ambitious of ſailing under his convoys: So that to the title of *Lord of the Seas*, he added that of *Protector of Commerce*; which, of the two, was ſo much the more glorious, as it is better to be beloved than feared.

To make the world ſenſible of his dominion at Sea, he once cauſed himſelf to be rowed in his barge by *Kenneth* king of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* king of *Cumberland*, *Maccuſe* king of the *Iſles*, and five petty kings or princes of *Wales*, while himſelf, as Lord of the Seas, held the rudder.

The *Danes*, however, reſuming courage ſome years after the death of this prince, began again to inſult the *Engliſh* coaſt: Againſt whom *Ethelred*, his ſon, and next ſucceſſor, ſave one, having provided a powerful fleet, had the misfortune to ſee it either deſtroyed by tempeſt, or rendered unſerviceable by treachery. Whereupon the *Danes* having over-run the greateſt part of the kingdom, behaved themſelves with ſuch inſolence and cruelty, that the

*Engliſh*,

*Engliſh*, impatient of ſervitude, are ſaid to have contrived a *general maſſacre*, which was accordingly executed in, or about, the year 1002. To revenge this (as is ſaid) *Swain*, king of *Denmark*, came over with a mighty fleet and army, and ſucceeded ſo well, that he obliged *Ethelred* to retire into *Normandy*. But upon the death of *Swain*, (which happened ſoon after) *Ethelred* returning, drew ſome forces together, and ſetting upon *Canute*, the ſon of *Swain*, forc'd him to fly into *Denmark*. *Canute*, however, ſoon returned with a greater force, and *Edrik*, the *Engliſh* admiral, revolting to him with forty ſhips, and afterwards (as ſome relate it) murthering the brave king *Edmond Ironſides*, *Ethelred*'s ſon and ſucceſſor, with whom *Canute* had agreed to divide the kingdom; the *Dane* ſeizing *Edmond*'s ſhare, was acknowledged by the people, and crowned monarch of *England*.

The *Danes* being in poſſeſſion of the government, there happened nothing remarkable with regard to Sea-affairs, during the reigns of *Canute*, *Harold*, and *Hardicanute*; upon the death of which laſt, the *Engliſh*, diſdaining all *Daniſh* ſubjection, reſtored their own royal line, by ſetting *Edward*, the ſon of king *Ethelred*, on the throne, and extirpating the *Danes*; who never made above one conſiderable ſtruggle to regain their loſt dominion. This laſt effort of the *Danes* was in the year 1066, when joyning with

with *Toſto*, the brother of the *Engliſh* uſurper *Harold*, they landed in the *North*. But the undertaking was ſoon baffled thro' the conduct and bravery of *Harold*; the *Daniſh* king *Harfager* and *Toſto* were both ſlain, their army totally defeated, and the whole *Daniſh* fleet ſeized by the victorious *Engliſh*. Thus the *Engliſh* uſurper, like a meteor exhaled from the earth, was raiſed up and made illuſtrious by ſucceſs, that his fall might be the more remarkable. For he had no ſooner finiſhed the war in the *North* than he received advice of a new war which gathered upon him from the *South*, where *William* duke of *Normandy* with ſpecious pretenſions to the crown, backed with a good army, was lately landed. To encounter him, *Harold* led his victorious trooys, ſtill reeking with the blood of the *Danes*, by ſuch haſty marches, that about a week after the defeat of the *Daniſh* king, another battle was fought with the *Norman* duke; but with very different ſucceſs. For after a moſt obſtinate fight of a whole day, in which the *Norman* long bows did terrible execution; the uſurper, and almoſt his whole army, were ſlain valiantly fighting in the field of battle, the ground where they ſtood and fought, while living, being covered with their bodies, when dead. The event of this was a ſecond revolution of the government; the *Engliſh* royal line giving place for a time to the *Norman* race.

CHAP.

# CHAP. II.

## *An account of the* Engliſh Sea-affairs *from the concluſion of the* Daniſh war *to the reign of Q.* Elizabeth.

THE reigns of *William* I. and *William Rufus*, paſſed without any remarkable expedition or action by Sea; the firſt that we read of being in the reign of king *Henry* I. Anno. 1106. when that prince, croſſing the Sea with a conſiderable fleet, made an entire conqueſt of *Normandy*, taking his brother *Robert* priſoner in a deciſive battle, and afterwards putting out his eyes.

The next expedition of conſequence was undertaken *Anno* 1172, by K. *Henry* II. who paſſing over to *Ireland* with a fleet of four hundred ſail, reduced that noble iſland under the dominion of *England*.

But the prince, who may juſtly be ſtiled the reviver of the *Engliſh* naval glory, was K. *Richard* I. who for his courage was named *Cœur de Lion*, or lion's heart. This brave prince excited partly by the faſhionable zeal of the age, partly by the thirſt of glory, undertook an expedition againſt the *Saracens* in conjunction with *Philip* II. of *France*. His fleet conſiſted of an hundred and thirty ſhips and fifty gallies

lies, on which was embarqued a conſiderable army compoſed of choice troops. By the way on account of ſome ill treatment, he ſeized the city of *Meſſina* in *Sicily*, as he afterwards did the whole iſland of *Cyprus*; and meeting a large *Argoſey* manned with fifteen hundred *Saracens*, he fought and took her after a ſharp engagement, in which one thouſand three hundred *Saracens* were killed or drowned. Being arrived at *Ptolomais* or *Acon*, he aſſiſted at the ſiege of that city by land, while his fleet blocked it up by ſea. Whereupon the fleet of the *Sultan* of *Egypt* attempting to throw ſome relief into the place, there happened an engagement, in which the *Saracens* were totally defeated, and moſt of their ſhips taken; among which were many filled with combuſtible materials, together with cages of live ſerpents, which were deſigned to be thrown into the *Engliſh* ſhips. The ſucceſs of this engagement determined the fate of the city, which ſoon after ſurrendered to K. *Richard*, whoſe bravery, during the ſiege, had gained him ſuch reputation that he was declared captain-general of the chriſtian forces, in which quality he performed many glorious actions againſt the infidels.

This courageous prince, upon his return, compiled the famous laws of *Oleron*, being the Sea-laws of his predeceſſors corrected; by which act he renewed the pretenſions of the crown

crown of *England* to the ſovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas.

His brother king *John* ſucceeding him *Anno* 1199 ſhewed himſelf no leſs careful to preſerve the dominion of thoſe ſeas. This is plain from that memorable record of *Haſtings*, whereby he appears to have enacted that whatever foreigners within the four ſeas refuſed to ſtrike to the king's lieutenant ſhould be reputed enemies and rebels. After which ſailing to *Ireland* with a fleet of five hundred ſhips, he obliged all he met to ſhew that reſpect to his flag.

In his reign and that of his ſucceſſor *Henry* III, divers actions happened at ſea between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, the occaſion of which deſerves to be related.

King *John* being by his raſh conduct engaged in domeſtick quarrels with his nobility, theſe, finding themſelves hard preſſed, agreed to invite to their aſſiſtance *Lewis* ſon to *Philip* the *Auguſt*, king of *France*, to whom they offered the crown.

*Philip* himſelf had formerly made a pretenſion to the crown of *England* by virtue of the pope's gift, occaſioned by certain diſputes between K. *John* and his clergy. But the pope, upon the king's ſubmiſſion, having revoked that gift, and *Philip* being forbidden to purſue his pretenſions, he turned his arms againſt *Ferrand Count* of *Flanders*, king *John*'s friend and ally. Whereupon the *Engliſh* fleet conſiſting of five

five hundred ſail, commanded by the earl of *Salisbury*, the king's natural brother, was ſent to the count's aſſiſtance: Which occaſioned a bloody engagement near *Damme* on the coaſt of *Flanders*, where the *Engliſh*, attacking the *French*, took three hundred of their ſhips, moſt of them laden with proviſions and ammunition, and burnt and ſunk above an hundred; and afterwards landing with a conſiderable body of troops, they obliged king *Philip* and his army to retire out of the count's territories with great loſs. Theſe ſucceſſes, tho' they did not abſolutely prevent the execution of *Philip*'s deſign againſt the count of *Flanders* (whoſe country he afterwards overran taking him priſoner in the battle of *Bovines*) yet they made him almoſt deſpair of gaining any advantage againſt king *John*, by force of arms. The invitation of the *Engliſh* nobility was therefore very welcome to *Philip*, who immediately diſpatched his ſon *Lewis* to take poſſeſſion of the crown which was offered him.

*Lewis* landing with a conſiderable army in *England*, in the year 1216, was at firſt received with great joy by the diſaffected nobility: And king *John*, endeavouring to put himſelf in a poſture to defend his right, was taken off by the ſudden ſtroke of death; not without ſuſpicion of poiſon.

His ſon *Henry* III ſucceeded, but being under age, was committed to the care of *William* earl of *Pembroke*. In the mean time, *Lewis* and the diſaffected nobility were received by the *Londoners*, whoſe example drew the greateſt part of the nation into the ſame intereſt.

While *Lewis* was at *London*, the earl of *Pembroke* aſſembled all the nobility which had preſerved their loyalty to king *John*, and preſented to them young *Henry* his ſon, cauſing him to be crowned with as much ſolemnity as could conſiſt with the diſtracted ſtate of affairs, and himſelf was afterwards declared regent during the king's minority.

The news of young king *Henry*'s coronation no ſooner reached *London* than *Lewis* marched to reduce *Hereford*; which he took after ſo great a reſiſtance as made him ſenſible of the affection of the inhabitants to their natural prince. The loſs ſuſtained at this ſiege, together with the general inclination of the people to declare for the young king, induced *Lewis* to take a turn into *France*, to provide ſufficient reinforcements. Which abſence of *Lewis* was ſo well improved by the wiſe regent, that he drew off many of the moſt powerful abettors of the *French* intereſt; and among them the earls of *Salisbury* and *Arundel*.

*Lewis*, arriving from *France*, tho' ſomewhat ſurpriſed at the ſudden turn of affairs, attempted

ed the relief of *Mountſorrel*, which was beſieged by ſome of king *Henry*'s troops, and meeting with ſucceſs, he proceeded to attack the caſtle of *Lincoln*; which enterprize proved fatal to his pretenſions.

The ſiege of the caſtle was preſſed with great vigour, and ſuſtained with no leſs bravery, till the arrival of the regent with a good army for its relief. The enemies, having notice of the approach of the *Engliſh* army, took the reſolution to wait their attack within the city (which had declared for *Lewis*) and at the ſame time to puſh on the ſiege of the caſtle. But the *Engliſh*, inſpired with ſuch an eagerneſs of fighting as is uſually the preſage of victory, made a vigorous attack at the *North* gate of the city; where having overcome the obſtinacy of their countrymen the malecontents, who had undertaken to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock, they made a great ſlaughter of the *French*, killing their general and entirely ruining their army.

After this defeat, the cities generally deſerted the party of *Lewis*, ſo that ſcarce any remained firm to him but the city of *London*. In this extremity he ſends to ſolicit ſpeedy ſuccours from *France*; which, being got together with the haſte which the neceſſity of his affairs required, were embarqued on a fleet of about eighty ſail commanded by one *Euſtache*,

who, tho' born a ſubject of *England*, had embraced the *French* party.

Upon the news of the *French* preparations, the regent in all haſte got ready a fleet of about forty ſhips, commanded by *Hubert de Bourg*, which ſoon after coming to an engagement with the enemy, obtained a compleat victory, * great numbers of the *French* being miſerably deſtroyed, their admiral taken, and their fleet entirely ruined. The admiral offered a conſiderable ſum for his ranſom, but it was ſo far from being accepted, that *Richard*, natural ſon to king *John*, upbraiding him with diſloyalty to his prince, in a rage drew his ſword and killed him.

This defeat concluded the war: For the regent, blocking up *Lewis* in *London*, obliged him ſoon after to ſurrender the city, to renounce all pretenſion to the crown of *England*, to deliver up whatever places he had ſtill in his poſſeſſion, and to agree to depart the land; and not only ſo, but to promiſe to perſuade his father *Philip* to reſtore *Normandy* and the other provinces in *France* which had been taken from the *Engliſh*, and in caſe he could not prevail with his father, to engage to reſtore them himſelf, at his firſt acceſſion to the crown. But *Lewis*, becoming afterwards the eighth of that name, never performed that part of the engagement which

* Matth. Paris. p. 398. Edit. Londin.

which related to the reſtoring of *Normandy* and the other provinces.

From this time we have little remarkable at Sea, till the year 1294, when king *Edward* I, incenſed at certain piracies committed by the *French* againſt the *Engliſh*, on the coaſt of *Normandy*, ſent a conſiderable fleet, under the command of his admiral *Robert Tiptot*, who entering the *Seine*, ſunk all the *French* ſhips that lay in the river, and afterwards took divers others laden with wine. Whereupon the *French* got ready a ſtrong fleet, under *Charles* count *de Valois*, who coming to blows with the *Engliſh*, received a total defeat. However, they ſoon after recruited their fleet, and ſurpriz'd the town of *Dover*, which they plundered and burnt.

After theſe tranſactions, peace being reſtored, the *Engliſh* right to the dominion of the *Britiſh* Seas was univerſally owned. This appears from the declaration of the deputies of the *Germans*, *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Hollanders*, *Zealanders*, *Frieſlanders*, *Genoeſe*, *Catalonians*, and in effect of all the trading nations of *Europe*, in the caſe of *Reginer Grimbald* admiral of *France*. *Grimbald* had, it ſeems, preſumed to ſeize ſome veſſels belonging to *Guy* count of *Flanders* in the *Britiſh* Seas without permiſſion from king *Edward* I. Whereupon the deputies unanimouſly judged that violence to be an uſurpation on the right of the *Engliſh* crown, * and declared in writing that the



* Seld. Mare Clauſum Cap. 27.

kings of *England* had always been lords, not only of the adjacent Sea, but of all the iſlands therein contained. This was followed by the ſubmiſſion of the *Flemings* to the *Engliſh* dominion or ſoverignty of the Seas, made in open parliament in the time of king *Edward* II. But in the reign of his ſon and immediate ſucceſſor *Edward* III, the matter was brought to a new deciſion by the ſword, to the advantage of the *Engliſh*. The occaſion was this:

*Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, the three ſons of *Philip* the *Fair*, dying without iſſue, *Edward* laid claim to the crown of *France* in right of his mother queen *Iſabella*, who was their ſiſter. But *Philip de Valois*, whoſe father was younger brother to *Philip* the *Fair*, was proclaimed king by the *French*, who made uſe of the *Salique law* to exclude king *Edward*, chiefly becauſe he was a foreigner.

*Philip* was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the crown than he ſent a ſummons to *Edward*, to come in perſon to do him homage for the dukedom of *Aquitain*. This king *Edward* knew was in effect to renounce his right to the crown of *France*, and to own that of his rival: But an almoſt invincible neceſſity, proceeding from inteſtine commotions in *England*, joined with his own tender age, obliged him to comply. However, the inſolence of the ſummons, together with ſome indignities impoſed at the ceremony, kindled ſuch a fire in the breaſt of the young king as afterwards broke out into a flame not to be quench-

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ed but with Seas of blood. But time was neceſſary to furniſh the means of purſuing his reſentments. The diſtractions in *England* were firſt to be compoſed, and the force of the *Scots* (then faithful allies of the *French*) to be broken. Which being happily effected, his pretenſions to the crown of *France* were revived, and the war reſolved on.

The beginning of the war was favourable to the *French*; who with their gallies attack'd and almoſt laid in aſhes the town of *Southampton*. But the next day they ſuffered a repulſe with the loſs of about three hundred men. Nor was it long ere the ſcene was changed from *England* to *France*.

In the year 1339, king *Edward* ſet ſail with a conſiderable fleet and army and landed at *Antwerp*, where he firſt aſſumed the title and arms of *France*. From thence he entered that kingdom, deſtroying the *Northern* parts as far as *Turwin*. But this expedition paſſing without any action of conſequence, by reaſon of king *Philip's* declining to fight, he returned to *England*, and the following year ſet ſail again with a fleet of about two hundred and fifty ſhips for *Sluys* in *Flanders*, near which place the *French* with a fleet of about four hundred ſail had poſted themſelves with deſign to intercept him. But nothing could reſiſt the good fortune of king *Edward*, or retard the approaching fate of *France*. The brave young king attack'd the

enemy in perſon, and fighting with no leſs conduct than courage, gained one of the compleateſt victories that ever happened at Sea. In this fight, which laſted from ten in the morning till ſeven in the evening, the *French* loſt both their admirals, two hundred and thirty ſhips, and thirty thouſand men, moſt of which were drowned by leaping into the Sea, to avoid the fury of the *Engliſh*. This great loſs is confeſs'd by the *French* hiſtorians themſelves; but they add, that the *Engliſh* likewiſe ſuffered conſiderably, and that king *Edward* was wounded in the leg.

Upon this king *Edward* landed his army, and ſat down before *Tournay*: But a truce preventing the progreſs of the ſiege, the war was deferred for ſome time. At laſt, the truce being expired, he paſs'd the Seas a third time, and landing in *Normandy*, took the rich city of *Caen*, and afterwards march'd his army almoſt to the walls of *Paris*. Then followed ſuch a arain of ſucceſſes, as we ſeldom meet with in hiſtory. The famous victory of *Creſſy* where the kings of *Bohemia* and *Majorca*, and nine other princes were ſlain, together with the glorious victories at *Durham* and *Poictiers*, where the kings of *Scotland* and *France* were taken priſoners, as alſo the great acquiſitions made by this war to the crown of *England*, might well deſerve a particular mention, were they not foreign to our preſent deſign.

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The war with *France* (in which *Scotland* was likewiſe involved) being finiſhed, it was ſoon followed by a war with *Spain.* The occaſion was this:

*Henry* the *Baſtard,* having dethroned *Peter,* ſirnamed *the Cruel,* who was the rightful king of *Caſtile,* the dethroned prince applied himſelf to king *Edward* for aſſiſtance; who ſending his ſon, the brave *Edward,* ſirnamed the *Black Prince,* with a ſtrong body of *Engliſh* troops, defeated *Henry*'s army, and reſtored *Peter.* But *Henry,* taking his opportunity after the return of the *Engliſh* forces, dethroned *Peter* the ſecond time; and entering into an alliance with the *French,* (who began to diſreliſh the late peace with *England)* he, by way of revenge, diſturbed the *Engliſh* commerce, ſeizing ſeveral of their merchant-ſhips; which were plundered, and and afterwards ſunk. Upon notice of this act of hoſtility, king *Edward* fitted out a fleet of fifty ſhips, and going on board in perſon, attacked, and defeated the *Spaniſh* fleet, conſiſting of forty-four ſail, of which ſeventeen were taken; the reſt hardly eſcaping by favour of the night: In memory of which victory he afterwards cauſed the *Roſe Nobles* to be coined, on the one ſide of which he was repreſented ſitting in a ſhip with his drawn ſword, as protector of the *Engliſh* dominion at Sea.

Yet

Yet this great prince was not without ſome experience of the vanity of military glory: For ſending the earl of *Pembroke* with a fleet of about forty ſhips, to the relief of *Rochelle*, which was beſieged by the *French* by Land, and the *Spaniards* by Sea, his fleet, after a furious engagement againſt a ſuperior force, was totally ruined, and the earl taken priſoner by *Boccanigra*, the *Spaniſh* admiral. However, *Rochel* held out bravely, and king *Edward* ſailed with another fleet to its relief; but being driven back by ſtorm, the city at laſt ſurrendered on honourable terms.

Towards the end of this king's reign, the *Flemings* having incurred his diſpleaſure, a fleet was ſent againſt them, under the command of the earl of *Hereford*, who meeting them, gave them a conſiderable overthrow, in which twenty-five of their ſhips were either taken or deſtroyed.

King *Edward*, ſoon after dying, was ſucceeded by *Richard*, ſon to *Edward*, the *Black Prince*, who being but eleven years of age, thoſe who had the adminiſtration of the government during his minority, by having too little regard to naval affairs, gave occaſion to the *French*, *Spaniards* and *Scots*, to exerciſe great ravages and depredations on the *Engliſh* coaſt. But one Mr. *Philpot*, an alderman of *London*, (the ſame noble patriot who killed *Wat. Tyler*, when arreſted by the brave *Walworth*) firſt gave a check

to

to thoſe inſolencies. This worthy citizen, fitting out a fleet at his own charge, bravely hazarded his perſon as commander in chief, and was ſo ſucceſsful, that he ſoon obliged the *Spaniards* to refund their ſhare of the booty taken from the *Engliſh*, with the loſs of fifteen of their own ſhips richly laden. Whereupon, the government beginning to exert themſelves, ſeveral ſquadrons were got ready, under command of the earls of *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, *Nottingham* and others, who performed many brave actions, and in a ſhort time took above an hundred prizes, *French* and *Spaniſh*; ſo that the *Engliſh* havens were filled with the ſpoils of the enemies. But a truce ſoon followed.

About this time a Schiſm happened in the *Romiſh* church, occaſioned by the election of *Clement*, in oppoſition to pope *Urban*, who was in poſſeſſion of the chair. Whereupon, *Urban* invited *Henry Spencer*, biſhop of *Norwich*, a man as well qualified for a helmet as a mitre, to preach up the *Cruſado*, and to ſerve as general againſt *Clement*, the antipope. The biſhop, conſenting, obtained a fifteenth of the parliament, to be employed in hiring ſhips, and raiſing troops; with which paſſing over into *Flanders*, he took *Newport*, *Dunkirk*, and *Greveling*, and gained a great victory at Sea over thirty thouſand of *Clement*'s adherents. But his enemies, at home, obliged him ſoon after, by their intrigues, to quit his enterprize for want of ſupplies.

In

In the year 1387, the *French*, having formed a deſign to invade *England*, fitted out a powerful fleet, which was reinforced by many veſſels which they had hired of the *Flemings*: But the deſign was diſappointed by the vigilance of the *Engliſh* government. However, the forwardneſs the *Flemings* had ſhewn, to lend their ſhips to the enemy, was much reſented by the *Engliſh*: Nor was it long 'ere the *Flemings* were made ſenſible of their reſentment. For the earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham* being at Sea with a ſquadron of the king's ſhips, and meeting a great fleet of the *Flemiſh* merchant ſhips coming from *Rochelle*, under a ſtrong convoy, they attacked, * and obliged them to retire into the haven of *Sluys*; where they engaged them a ſecond time, and boarded, and took their admiral, with a vaſt number of ſhips. 'Twas computed that the merchants loſt eighteen thouſand tuns of wine on board the ſhips that were taken or deſtroyed. Nor did they ſtop here, but landing ſome thouſands of men, they ravaged a great part of *Flanders*. From thence they ſailed to *Breſt*, (at that time beſieged by the *French*) which they not only relieved, but likewiſe made themſelves maſters of two ſtrong forts.

Peace was concluded with *France*, *Anno* 1396, the *Spaniards* and *Scots* being comprized in the treaty. But in the following reign (*viz.* that of

* Voſſij Chronica.

of king *Henry* IV.) the ancient feuds between the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Scots*, reviving, they mutually inſulted, and haraſs'd each other's coaſts. The firſt blow was ſtruck by the *French*, who landed ſome troops, and burnt the town of *Plimouth*. On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* commanded by *William Wilford*, by way of revenge, took, and deſtroyed about forty ſhips on the coaſt of *Bretagne*, and landing at *Penmarc*, enriched themſelves with the plunder of the country. The *French*, ſeeking to revenge this in their turn, landed near *Dartmouth*, and attacked the place; but were beaten off by the townſmen and country people, with the loſs of their commander, and ſix hundred men either killed or taken. Nor did *Scotland* eſcape a ſhare of the calamities of war. For a ſquadron of ten ſhips under command of Sir *Robert Umfreville* ravaged the coaſts on both ſides of the firth of *Forth* for fourteen days, burnt the capital ſhip of that kingdom, called, *The Great Galliot*, and took divers prizes.

But theſe exploits were but trifles, if compared with the actions of the ſucceeding reign. For the glorious king *Henry* V, ſon of king *Henry* IV, aſcending the throne in the year 1413, purſued his title to the crown of *France* (derived from his great grandfather, king *Edw.* III,) with ſuch prodigious ſucceſs both by Sea and Land, that he in a ſhort time obtained the regency, and opened the way for the ſucceſ-

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ſion of his ſon, king *Henry* VI, to the crown of that kingdom.

This great prince having landed in *France*, taken the town of *Harfleur*, and won immortal honour by the defeat of the *French* army in the famous battle of *Agincourt*; the *French* attempted the next campaign to retake *Harfleur*. For this purpoſe, the vice-admiral of *France*, with the whole naval force of the kingdom, and a ſtrong ſquadron of *Genoeſe Caracks* block'd it up by Sea, while the conſtable of *France* beſieged it by Land. The duke of *Bedford*, the king's uncle, was hereupon ſent with the *Engliſh* fleet to the relief of the place. This brave nobleman executed his commiſſion with ſuch reſolution and conduct, that notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the *Genoeſe* (who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion) the enemies were totally defeated, and no leſs than five hundred *French* veſſels of all ſorts, together with three large *Genoeſe Caracks*, either taken or ſunk: Which good ſucceſs obliged the conſtable to break up the ſiege.

As this victory, (which both *French* and *Genoeſe* hiſtorians confeſs to have been complete) more firmly eſtabliſhed the *Engliſh* nation in the ſovereignty of the Seas; ſo the great ſucceſſes which followed at land ſoon placed an *Engliſh* prince on the throne of *France*.

From this period, during the civil contentions between the houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, nothing

thing remarkable happened at Sea, with regard to foreign enemies, except that the *French*, having ſided with the *Lancaſtrian party*, a conſiderable fleet and army were ſent by king *Edward* IV, under command of the earl of *Eſſex* and others, who, landing at *Conquet* in *Bretagne*, plundered the adjacent country, as alſo the iſle of *Rhe*, and took many prizes.

But king *Henry* VII, who ſucceeded *Edward*, having, by his marriage with the lady *Elizabeth* daughter to *Edward*, united the contending houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, and thereby put an end to that ruinous war, the *Engliſh* ſoon found means to render themſelves very conſiderable abroad. 'Twas in his reign that Sir *Richard Poynings*, at the deſire of the archduke *Maximilian*, was ſent with a ſquadron to aſſiſt in reducing the town of *Sluys* in *Flanders*, which had been ſeized and made a receptacle of pirates by the baron *Ravenſtein*, a ſubject of the archduke: Which enterprize, meeting with ſucceſs, gained the applauſe of all the trading nations of *Europe*. 'Twas likewiſe in his reign that the wonderful diſcoveries of the *Spaniards* under *Columbus* in the *Weſt*, and of the *Portugueſe* under *Vaſco de Gama* in the *Eaſt*, began to raiſe an emulation in the *Engliſh*, who chiefly bent themſelves to the making the like diſcoveries in the *North*. To this end the two *Cabots* (*John* and *Sebaſtian*) Mr. *Jackman*, Mr. *Chancellor* and others were firſt employed; who made

a diſcovery of almoſt all the *Northern* coaſts of *Europe* and *America* (as far as the rigor of the cold and the danger of the ice would permit) from the river *Obi* to the *Cape of Florida.* And tho' the chief deſign of their *Northern* voyages miſcarried, which was to find out a *North Eaſt* paſſage to the *Eaſtindies*, in order to ſhare with the *Portugueſe* in the commerce of thoſe wealthy countries by a ſhorter way; yet they did not, altogether, loſe their labour. For hereby the *Engliſh* became in time poſſeſſed of almoſt the whole *Northern* coaſt of *America*, and by their diſcoveries of thoſe parts, as alſo of the coaſts of *Greenland* and *Ruſſia*, they became ſenſible that the *North* had its riches as well as the *Eaſt* and *Weſt:* For here they found the cod and whale fiſheries, and the rich furs of *Hudſon's* bay and *Siberia.*

Among thoſe brave adventurers, *Sebaſtian Cabot* was the man who firſt took notice of the *Variation of the compaſs:* Which variation had *Columbus* known and comprehended the reaſon of it, he might (as * Dr. *Brown* obſerves) have been ſufficiently confirmed in his opinion of a new world, having paſſed but little more than half the way to it. For thereabouts the needle, being excited by the neighbourhood of that vaſt continent, begins to vary towards the *Weſt*, and increaſes its variation, in ſome proporion to its nearer approach,

* Vulgar Errors, p. 64.

proach to the land. The difference of ſuch variation in different parts of the world, has of late been nicely obſerved, and accurately deſcribed by the famous Dr. *Halley*.

But tho' the *Engliſh*, in thoſe times, were conſiderable for power, and fortunate in diſcoveries; yet had they no conſiderable occaſion to aſſert their ſovereignty at Sea, till the reign of king *Henry* VIII, when it appeared that they were not degenerate from the virtue of their anceſtors. In the beginning of this reign, one *Andrew Barton*, a *Scotchman*, piratically infeſting the *Britiſh*-ſeas with two ſhips, was killed, and both his ſhips taken, after a deſperate fight, by two brave young noblemen, who had fitted out an equal number of veſſels at their own charge. Theſe were the ſons of the great earl of *Surrey*, who won the victory at *Floddon-field*, where king *James* IV. of *Scotland* was killed, and who for that, and other ſervices, was created duke of *Norfolk*. Nor was the early valour of the ſons unrewarded; both of them becoming ſucceſſively lords high-admirals of *England*. *Edward*, tho' the younger brother, was firſt advanced to that eminent poſt; but after ſome conſiderable actions, expoſing his perſon ſomewhat too boldly, by boarding a *French* ſhip in *Conquet-road*, he was puſh'd over-board by the enemy's pikes, and drowned.

His brother, the lord *Thomas Howard*, being made lord high-admiral of *England*, in his ſtead,

as alſo admiral of the emperor *Charles* V, (who joined his fleet with that of the *Engliſh*) was more fortunate in the *French* war. For making a deſcent on the coaſt of *Normandy* near *Cherburgh*, he deſtroyed the adjacent country: And afterwards landing near *Morlaix* in *Bretagne*, he took the town by ſtorm, plundered it, and burnt ſeventeen ſail of *French* ſhips on the coaſt.

Conſiderable damage was likewiſe done about the ſame time on the coaſt of *France*, by Sir *Edward Fitz-Williams*: And ſome time after, a war being begun with *Scotland* (occaſion'd by the *Scots* breaking the match that had been agreed on between prince *Edward*, king *Henry*'s ſon, and their young princeſs) the lord *Liſle*, who ſucceeded as lord high-admiral, ſailed with the fleet and a body of troops commanded by the earl of *Hertford* to *Leith*; which place they took, as alſo the city of *Edinburgh*; which was ſet on fire, and burnt three days ſucceſſively: But the caſtle ſtill holding out, the *Engliſh* returned home, after having burnt *Hadington* and *Leith*, and taken divers veſſels out of the ports and creeks on the *Scottiſh Coaſt*.

Soon after this, the war continuing with *France*, the *French* made ſome attempts on the coaſt of *England*, but were repulſed; and being afterwards encountered by the *Engliſh* fleet, a ſharp action enſued, which laſted till night, and their diſorderly retreat put an end to the combat. The *Engliſh*, purſuing, landed ſix thouſand men

men at *Treport*, and burnt the town and abbey, together with thirty ſhips which lay in the harbour.

The next campaign, the *Engliſh* had ſeveral rencounters with the *French* on their coaſts. Particularly before *Ambleteuſe*, eight of their ſhips, engaging with an equal number of *French* gallies, took one and obliged the reſt to ſheer off much diſabled. Thus ended the naval war.

In the beginning of the reign of king *Edward* VI, another war being begun with *Scotland* on account of the forementioned match, a fleet was ſent under command of the lord *Clinton*, who (while the duke of *Somerſet* marched with an army into that kingdom, and defeated the *Scots* at *Muſelburgh*-fight) inſulted the coaſt, and deſtroyed the adjacent country. Whereupon the war being renewed by *France*, the *French* attempted to reduce the iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*; for which purpoſe, a ſtrong ſquadron was ſent with two thouſand land forces on board: But the enemies were ſo vigorouſly attack'd by captain *William Winter*, that they were forced to retire with the loſs of a thouſand men, and all their gallies.

The following reign (*viz.* that of queen *Mary*) tho' not very remarkable for naval exploits, yet afforded ſomething conſiderable, with regard to commerce. Such was the incorporation of the *Muſcovy Company*, and the

diſſolution of the corporation of ſtill-yard factors, who were agents for the *Hanſe Towns.*

The confederacy of the *Hanſe Towns* is ſaid to have begun in the year 1360. They conſiſted of ſixty-ſix cities, united for the ſecurity of their commerce, which before their union had been much diſturbed, during the wars between *Sweden* and *Denmark.* But having afterwards recovered the freedom of trade, they became, for about the ſpace of an hundred years, the chief, and almoſt only merchants of *Europe.* To thoſe *Hanſe Towns* king *Henry* III, (to make good the damage they had ſuſtained by the wreck of the greateſt part of a fleet, in its return from his ſervice) granted extraordinary privileges, and among other things, conſented that they ſhould pay but one *per Cent.* cuſtom for the future. But this proving a great damage to the *Engliſh* nation, it was afterwards changed to twenty *per Cent.* in the reign of queen *Mary*, by the advice, as 'tis ſaid, of her ſpouſe king *Philip* II, of *Spain.* And the cuſtom being afterwards continued on the ſame foot by her ſucceſſor queen *Elizabeth*; this cauſed a ſuſpenſion of their traffick for a while, and gave opportunity to the *Engliſh*, by degrees, to take the whole trade into their own hands. From hence aroſe great diſputes between the queen and thoſe towns; the reſult of which was the total ruin of their intereſt in *England*, and the riſe of the honourable company of *Merchants Adventurers.*

Yet the ſhort reign of queen *Mary* paſſed not without

without ſome action by Sea. For having aſſiſted king *Philip* with a ſtrong body of *Engliſh* troops (by whoſe valour the battle of St. *Quintin* was chiefly won) the *French*, by way of revenge ſuddenly attacked the town and forts of *Calais*, and finding them unprovided, ſoon obliged them to ſurrender; by which means the *Engliſh* loſt all footing in *France*. Hereupon, the lord *Clinton* was ſent with a fleet and ſeven thouſand land-ſoldiers to the coaſt of *Bretagne*, where he landed and burnt the town of *Conquet*; but with the loſs of ſix hundred of his men. Certain *Engliſh* ſhips were likewiſe the occaſion of a conſiderable victory over the *French* at land. For the *Spaniſh* army under count *Egmont* being engaged in a doubtful fight with the *French* in the neighbourhood of *Greveling*, a ſeaport of *Flanders*, it happened that a ſquadron of *Engliſh* came ſailing along the coaſt near the place where the battle was fought; who, obſerving what paſſed between the two armies, brought their broadſides to bear upon the flank of the *French* troops in ſuch manner that the whole army was put to the rout. Many were killed by the *Spaniards* on the field of battle, the general and all the ſuperior officers were taken priſoners, and ſuch others who endeavoured to eſcape by leaping into the Sea were deſtroyed by the *Engliſh*; except only two hundred, who were ſaved and afterwards preſented to the queen. *



* Strada de Bello Belg. Lib. 1. Dec. 1.

# CHAP. III.

## *An Account of the* Engliſh naval affairs, *during the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth.

WE are now come to a reign which gave plentiful occaſion to the *Engliſh* to exerciſe themſelves in Sea-affairs, and which produced as many brave Sea commanders as all the preceding reigns. Among theſe the lord *Charles Howard*, ſon and heir of *William* lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, (deſcended from a collateral branch of the moſt noble family of the dukes of *Norfolk*) was the firſt in rank, and one of the chief in fame. Next to him was Sir *Richard Greenvil*, vice-admiral, (a gentleman related to the noble family of the earls of *Bath*) who with a *Roman Bravery* ſacrificed his life to the honour of his country. The third place is due to the renowned Sir *Francis Drake*, who raiſed himſelf and his family by his merits, was the terror of *Spain*, and the firſt Sea-captain who performed the voyage round the globe of the earth. Next to him we may rank Mr. *Thomas Candiſh*, (a gentleman of the illuſtrious family of *Cavendiſh*, which, by king *James* I, was afterwards honoured with the earldom (now the dukedom) of *Devonſhire* who was the ſecond Sea-captain that began and finiſhed

finiſhed that voyage. The famous Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was another ornament of this reign, not only as being an eminent Sea-commander, but as being a perſon of uncommon learning; who, tho' he never ſignalized himſelf by performing the voyage of the world, as did *Drake* and *Candiſh*, yet gained no leſs honour, by firſt writing its hiſtory with ſucceſs. After theſe, we may place Sir *John Hawkins*, a perſon of great bravery and experience in Sea-affairs; and Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, who was the firſt that attempted the diſcovery of a *North-Weſt* paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*: Nor muſt we omit Mr. *Davis*, who was the diſcoverer of the *Streight*, which ſtill bears his name. The earls of *Eſſex* and *Cumberland*, and Sir *John Norris*, tho' not bred to the Sea, yet ſignalized themſelves by their naval expeditions, and contributed not a little to the glory of this reign.

Soon after the acceſſion of queen *Elizabeth* to the crown, the reformers in *Scotland* finding themſelves embroiled with the queen-regent, who had called in the *French* to oppreſs them, implored the protection of *England*. Upon which, the queen ſent not only an army to their aſſiſtance, but likewiſe a ſquadron of her ſhips, which attack'd and took ſeveral *French* men of war in the road of *Leith*, while the troops laid ſiege to the town. But the death of the queen-regent, which happened ſoon after, put a ſtop to the progreſs of the war.

As this firſt action of queen *Elizabeth*'s reign diſcovered her care of religion; ſo that which immediately followed, was a proof of her concern for the ſecurity of commerce. For the Seas having for ſome time been infeſted by *French* and *Dutch* pirates, ſhe gave ſuch effectual orders, that the pirates were immediately ſuppreſs'd, and the Seas rendered ſafe to the induſtrious trader.

The queen's fame increaſing, *John Baſilius* emperor of *Ruſſia* ſent embaſſadors into *England* in the year 1567 with rich preſents: And ſuch was his eſteem for her virtues and the merits of the *Engliſh* nation (which had firſt opened the trade into his dominions, by the diſcovery of the port of *Archangel)* that, at her requeſt, he granted the *Engliſh Muſcovy Company* the privilege of trading to the *Northern* parts of that country, excluſive of all other nations. With thoſe embaſſadors, came one Mr. *Jenkinſon*, a gentleman, who was the firſt that made a diſcovery, and a geographical deſcription of the inland parts of *Muſcovy*, as Mr. *Chancellor* was the firſt, who made a diſcovery, and a draught of the Sea-coaſt.

The great encouragement given to trade ſoon excited a noble emulation in the *Engliſh* merchanrs, which prompted them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, tho' with great expence, to extend the ſame by new diſcoveries and acquiſitions. An attempt had been formerly made

made by Mr. *Jackman*, to find out a *North-eaſt* paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*; but tho' he diſcovered, and paſſed the *Streight* of *Waygats*, and came into the *Tartarian* Sea, which extends it ſelf to the *Holy Cape*, where it joins the *Oriental Ocean*; yet finding it impoſſible to proceed, by reaſon of the ice, he was obliged to return. This ill ſucceſs, however, gave birth about this time to a new undertaking, in which, Mr. *Forbiſher* (afterwards Sir *Martin*) was employed, which was to diſcover a *North-Weſt* paſſage to thoſe *Indies*.

Mr. *Forbiſher* performed his firſt voyage in the year 1576, at which time he diſcovered a ſort of deep bay or gulf, clear of ice, which he imagined to be the paſſage he ſought for, and therefore gave it the name of *Forbiſher's Streights*. But returning thither the following year to make a farther diſcovery of the ſuppos'd paſſage, he found it, even in the month of *July*, ſo ſtopped up with ice, that his ſhip was in great danger of being loſt. And tho' he undertook a third voyage, in the year 1578; yet he ſtill found it in the ſame month of *July*, ſo filled with mountains of ice, tho' but in the latitude of 62 degrees, that it was judged impractigcable to proceed.

He was ſome years after followed by Mr. *Davis*, who diſcovered to the 73d degree of latitude, and gave his name to another ſuppoſed paſſage; but the diſcovery was likewiſe of no

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uſe, with regard to the main deſign; no more than was that of our countryman Mr. *Hudſon*, who diſcovered the bay that bears his name.

About the ſame time, capt. *Francis Drake* began to make himſelf famous by his voyages and exploits in the warmer climates. His firſt remarkable voyage was to *Nombre de Dios*, which he took; but being wounded, and his men forcing him aboard, he was obliged, to his great regret, to leave behind him a vaſt treaſure, which lay in the king of *Spain*'s ware-houſes. However, the ſight of that treaſure, added to the booty taken elſewhere, gave no ſmall encouragement to further undertakings. Accordingly, in the year 1577, he ſet ſail from *Plymouth*, with five ſhips and barques, fitted out at his own expence, and having on board a hundred ſixty-four men. In *Auguſt* 1578, he entered the *Streight of Magellan*, which he paſſed in ſixteen days, and ſo arrived in the *South-Sea*. Sailing along the coaſt of *Chili*, he plundered the town of *St. Jago*, and after taking ſeveral rich prizes, came into the haven of *Lima*. Here he plundered twelve *Spaniſh* ſhips, which he found lying at anchor; and by examining the priſoners, he got intelligence of a very rich ſhip, called the *Cacafuego*, which was juſt ſailed for *Paita*. This ſhip was ſoon after taken, with a great treaſure in jewels, thirteen cheſts full of ryals of plate, fourſcore pound weight of gold, and ſix and twenty tons of unrefined ſilver.

ſilver. He afterwards took the town of *Guatulco*, as alſo another ſhip laden with *Eaſt-India* wares, in both which he found good plunder: So that having ſufficiently enriched himſelf and his companions, he began to think of returning home. But the whole coaſt of the *South-Sea* being alarmed, and the paſſage of the *Streight of Magellan* very dangerous, by reaſon of ſtorms, 'twas reſolved to ſtretch away to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and ſo to return by the *Cape of Good Hope*. By the way, being in the 38th deg. of northern latitude, he diſcovered a new country, where landing, he and his men received ſuch honours from the natives, as ſeemed to reſemble religious worſhip. The king, 'tis ſaid, reſigned his crown, and the people ſubmitted to the dominion of *England*: Whereupon *Drake* took poſſeſſion of the country in the name of the queen, and called it *New Albion*. Afterwards coming to the *Molucca Iſlands*, he received great civilities from the king of *Ternata*, the chief of thoſe iſlands, who offered to become the queen of *England*'s vaſſal, in hopes of being protected by her againſt the *Portugueze*. From thence, paſſing by *Java Major* and the *Cape of Good Hope*, he arrived about the end of the year 1580, in *England*; having in that voyage, which was performed in about three years, ſailed quite round the globe of the earth. At his return, he found that he had loſt one natural day in his reckoning, having in his voyage once performed

formed the ſame courſe which the ſun ſeems to perform in one day. As a reward for this memorable undertaking, he received the honour of knighthood from the queen, who likewiſe beſtowed on him, for a coat of arms, azure waving between two ſtars, with the globe of the earth and a ſhip with a girdle encompaſſing the earth for a creſt.

The queen having declared her reſolution, to protect the *United Provinces* againſt the oppreſſion of *Spain*, ſent Sir *Francis Drake* in the year 1585, as admiral to the *Weſt-Indies* with a fleet of twenty one ſail and about two thouſand ſoldiers under command of Mr. *Chriſtopher Carliſle*, with intention to find the *Spaniards* employment at home. Theſe, coming to the iſlands of *Cape Verd*, plundered and burnt the town of *Praya*. From thence they proceeded to *Hiſpaniola*, where they took the town of St. *Domingo*, and ranſomed it for twenty five thouſand ducates. *Carthagena* was taken next by ſtorm and ranſomed for one hundred and ten thouſand ducates. Then ſailing along the coaſt of *Florida* they took and burnt the towns of *St. Anthony* and St. *Hellen's* and demoliſhed the fort of St. *John*. The booty taken by the *Engliſh* in this expedition was valued at ſix hundred thouſand pounds, beſides two hundred pieces of braſs, and forty iron cannon; but the loſs ſuſtained by the *Spaniards* was far more conſiderable.

Soon

Soon after this, the queen, having intelligence of mighty preparations in *Spain* againſt *England*, ſent Sir *Francis Drake* with a conſiderable ſquadron to deſtroy the *Spaniſh* ſhips in their ports. The ſucceſs of this expedition was ſuch, that about an hundred ſhips were taken, burnt, or ſunk in the bay of *Cadiz*, with great quantities of rich merchandize, ammunition and proviſions on board; among which was a great galleon of the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, and a rich merchant-ſhip of *Raguſa*. In his return he ſurprized three forts near *Cape St. Vincent*, and proceeding to *Caſcais*, he challenged the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, admiral of the *Spaniſh* gallies, to an engagement. Upon the marquis's refuſal, *Drake* ſteer'd away to the iſlands called the *Azores*, near which he took a rich *Portugueze Carack*, called, the *St. Philip*, being the firſt of that ſort that ever was taken by the *Engliſh*, coming from the *Eaſt-Indies*.

In the year 1586, Mr *Thomas Candiſh* undertook his voyage round the globe of the earth; which voyage he performed in two years and about two months. He ſet out with two ſhips and a barque from *Plymouth*, having on board a hundred twenty-three perſons, men and boys. Paſſing through the *Streights of Magellan*, he burnt many *Spaniſh* towns on the coaſts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *New Spain*, deſtroyed nineteen *Spaniſh* ſhips, and took the admiral of the *South-Sea*, a ſhip of ſeven hundred tons, called, the *St. Ann*.

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This ſhip was very richly laden, having on board a hundred and twenty thouſand peſoes in gold, and a large cargo of ſilks, ſattins, musk, and other valuable goods, which he loaded on his own ſhips, and brought ſafe to *England.* He afterwards undertook another voyage to the *Streights of Magellan;* but, being driven by a contrary wind to the coaſt of *Brazil,* he there died.

The year 1588, was famous for the deſtruction of the ſo call'd, *Invincible Spaniſh Armada:* Of which we ſhall give a particular account.

The power of *Spain,* after the conqueſt of the *Moors* of *Granada* by *Ferdinand* (who, by his marriage with *Iſabella,* had united the two kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Arragon)* became very conſiderable. But the *Spaniſh* navigation and Sea-forces were ſoon prodigiouſly increas'd by the acquiſition of *Naples,* and the beſt part of *America,* which was diſcovered in his time: After which the noble victory of *Lepanto,* in the reign of *Philip* II, gained over the *Turks* by *Don John* of *Auſtria,* added much to the power, but more to the reputation of the *Spaniſh* fleets.

Beſides a great number of *Gallies,* (which were uſually employed in the *Mediterranean*) the force of *Spain,* at Sea, conſiſted chiefly in a ſort of tall ſhips, called, *Galleons.* Many of theſe galleons were of a prodigious bulk, and in general, their ſides were too high to admit eaſily of boarding, as well as too thick to be pierced

pierced at a diſtance by the *Engliſh* cannon. On the contrary, the ſhips of the *Engliſh* royal navy, being at that time very light and mounted with ſmaller pieces, could diſcharge more nimbly, and were more eaſily governed than the monſtrous galleons of the enemy. But beſides the galleons, there was another ſort of veſſels which help'd to compoſe the *Spaniſh* fleets, called *Galliaſſes*. Theſe were a middle ſort between gallies and galleons partaking of the form and advantages of both. Their prows and ſterns, like thoſe of gallies, were provided with large cannon; and their ſides winged with three banks of oars; but between the banks, and likewiſe between the ſingle oars there were port-holes furniſhed with cannon, after the manner of the galleons. This ſort of veſſels was firſt uſed by the *Venetians* in the battle of *Lepanto*, and contributed not a little to the ruin of the *Turkiſh* fleet.

King *Philip* had (according to * *Strada*) been forming a deſign againſt *England* ever ſince the year 83: For which purpoſe he had cauſed exact draughts of the Sea-coaſts and Ports to be taken and tranſmitted to him. But the execution of this deſign he wiſely deferred till the year 88, when *France*, being embroiled by civil diſſentions, was rendered incapable of aſſiſting the *Engliſh*. And to render the *Engliſh* the leſs capable of defending themſelves, it is ſaid

* De Bello Belg. L. 9. Dec. 2.

ſaid he politickly procured the *German* and *Italian* merchants to hire their ſtouteſt ſhips for long voyages.

The *Armada* or fleet deſigned for the invaſion of *England* conſiſted of an hundred and thirty five large ſhips, part gallies, part galliaſſes, but moſt galleons, and about forty tranſports and tenders: Which according to the *Spaniſh* liſt, were manned with ſeven thouſand four hundred and forty nine (or as ſome ſay twelve thouſand) ſailors, and eighteen thouſandeight hundred and fifty-ſeven ſoldiers, beſides five or ſix hundred *Spaniſh* noblemen and gentlemen volunteers.

This fleet, which ſet ſail from *Lisbon* about the middle of *May* under command of *Alphonſo Perez de Guſman*, duke of *Medina Sidonia*, was ſoon after attacked by a violent ſtorm off *Cape Finiſter*, and ſo diſperſed that ſcarce a third part kept together. But the ſcattered ſhips having at laſt joined the body of the fleet at the *Groyn*, they ſet ſail the ſecond time about the middle of *July*, and on the 20th they paſſed by *Plymouth*, being followed from thence by the *Engliſh* fleet, conſiſting of near an hundred ſail. *July* 21, the *Engliſh* came up with the enemy and engaged within musket-ſhot; on which occaſion a bloody combat happened between the lord *Charles Howard*, the *Engliſh* admiral, and the *Spaniſh* vice-admiral. *July* 22, the fight was renewed, and Sir *Francis Drake*,

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the *Engliſh* vice-admiral, with his uſual bravery, engaged and made himſelf maſter of the galleon of *Don Pedro de Valdez*, with a booty of fifty five thouſand ducates of gold. Another great galleon, commanded by *Ocquendo*, was burnt, and a third ſtranded on the *French* coaſt. The following day, the *Spaniards* coming over againſt *Portland*, there happened a ſharp engagement, wherein the *Engliſh* took a large *Venetian* ſhip, with ſeveral leſſer veſſels. *July* 24, there was only ſome firing at a diſtance. The next day, the *Engliſh* being reinforced with a ſquadron of ſhips from *London*, near the iſle of *Wight*, there was terrible cannonading between the two fleets; in which engagement divers of the galleons ſuffered much, and one of the lighteſt *Engliſh* ſhips, commanded by captain *Cock*, was ſunk, bravely fighting in the midſt of the *Spaniſh* fleet. *July* 28, as the *Spaniards* lay at anchor near *Calais*, the *Engliſh* admiral having filled eight of his worſt ſhips with combuſtible materials, and charged their cannon with bullets, ſtones, chains, *&c.* ſent them into the midſt of their fleet; where taking fire, the flames (which ſeemed to riſe out of the Sea) ſo terrified the enemies in the dead of the night, that raiſing a hideous cry, they cut their cables, and drove away in great confuſion; and it blowing a hard gale, divers of them by running foul on each other were ſunk; others were forced among the ſands on the

coaſt of *Flanders*, and loſt. *July* 29, the *Spaniards*, ranging themſelves again in order, approached *Greveling*, near which place there happened another engagement, wherein a large galleaſs, commanded by *Don Hugo de Moncada*, being diſabled, drove aſhore near *Calais*, and was plundered by the *Engliſh*; but the ſhip and guns fell to the ſhare of the governor of *Calais*. One of the largeſt galleons of *Biſcay*, being driven on the ſands near *Fluſhing* in *Zealand*, was taken by the *Dutch*, as was likewiſe another, commanded by *Don Diego Pimentel*. At this time the whole fleet of the enemy was in the extremeſt danger, driving towards the ſhallows, to its apparent deſtruction; whereupon the *Engliſh*, to avoid ſharing the ſame fate, were obliged to give over the chaſe. In the mean while, the *Dutch* with thirty-five ſhips lay near *Dunkirk*, to keep in the duke of *Parma*, who, with a number of tranſports, and about thirty thouſand men, was ready to join the *Spaniſh* fleet. On the 30, the enemy, by the ſudden ſhifting of the wind, having eſcaped the danger of the ſhallows, and deſpairing of being joined by the duke, ſpread all their convas, and made away to the *Northward*, being followed almoſt as far as the coaſt of *Scotland* by the *Engliſh* fleet. In their flight, to ſave their water, they threw all their horſes and mules over-board. Paſſing round *Scotland* and *Ireland*, they were attack'd by violent tempeſts, by which many of their

their largeſt ſhips were ſtranded on the *Iriſh*, and ſeveral on the *Scottiſh* ſhoar: Others were driven to the coaſt of *Norway*, and ſome into the *Engliſh Channel*; whereof divers were taken by the *Engliſh*, ſome were taken by the *Rochellers*; and ſome were forced into *Newhaven*. So that of this mighty fleet, which the pope had chriſten'd *Invincible*, no more than fifty-three ſhips are ſaid to have arrived with much difculty in the ports of *Spain*. And tho' the *Spaniſh* writers * extenuate the matter, confeſſing the loſs of only thirty-two of their great ſhips, and about ten thouſand of their men, yet the conſequence hath ſhewn that this defeat was no leſs fatal to the *Spaniſh* naval power, than that of *Lepanto* was to the *Turkiſh*.

After this great ſucceſs, ſeveral of the *Engliſh* captains had the honour of knighthood conferred on them by the admiral; among whom were captain *John Hawkins*, and captain *Martin Forbiſher*.

The conſternation in *Spain*, on the news of this terrible diſaſter, may be more eaſily imagined, than deſcribed. The publick mourning, for the loſs of relations and friends, was almoſt univerſal, and it look'd as if it would have been perpetual, had not the government thought fit to ſet bounds to it by a publick edict; as was formerly done by the *Roman Senate*, after the defeat at *Cannæ*. Only king *Philip*, who was a great



* Strada de Bello Belg. Lib. 9. Dec. 2.

great maſter of his paſſions (if we except that of love) appeared unſhocked and unconcerned. But to proceed.

Queen *Elizabeth*, having eſpouſed the intereſt of *Don Antonio*, king of *Portugal*, whom *Philip* had dethroned, a fleet of twenty-ſix men of war, and a hundred and forty tranſports, was fitted out in the year 1589, having on board the baniſhed king, and about ſix thouſand *Engliſh* troops, under command of Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Norris*. Theſe firſt landed near the *Groyn*, which they attack'd, and made themſelves maſters of the lower town by ſtorm. Whereupon the *Spaniards* quitted their ſhips, which lay in the harbour; being a large galleon, called the *St. John*, a hulk, two ſmall veſſels, and two gallies. The galleon (which was one of thoſe that had eſcap'd the former year) took fire by accident; but her guns were ſaved by the *Engliſh*. While the ſiege of the upper town was carried on, a ſtrong body of *Spaniſh* troops, commanded by the count *d'Andrada*, coming to its relief, the *Engliſh* drew off to meet them, and after a ſhort engagement, totally routed them, taking their chief ſtandard with the arms of *Spain*, and killing a great number: After which, they ravaged and deſtroyed the adjacent country. But the *Spaniards* in the upper town making a good defence, the *Engliſh*, unwilling to loſe any more time before it, plundered and burnt the lower town,

and

and ſo re-embarqu'd. Sailing towards the coaſt of *Portugal*, they were joined by the earl of *Eſſex* with ſome ſhips. They ſoon after arrived at *Pennichia*, a place lying on that coaſt, where they landed, in ſpite of all the oppoſition which the count *de Fuentes* could make, and immediately entered the town: Upon which the caſtle ſurrendered without reſiſtance. A reſolution was here taken to march the troops under general *Norris* directly to *Lisbon*, the capital of *Portugal*, while Sir *Francis Drake*, with the fleet, ſailed to the mouth of the *Tagus*. After a march of ſix days, the troops arrived at *Lisbon*, and took poſt in the ſuburb, called *Bona Viſta*. The following night, the garriſon, which was more numerous than the *Engliſh* army, made a ſally, but was repulſed, and purſued to the city-gate. In the mean time, admiral *Drake*, with the fleet, coming to *Caſcais*, took the town, and obliged the inhabitants to declare for king *Antonio*. But the troops at *Lisbon*, having lain two nights in the ſuburbs, and finding their expectations of a general riſing in favour of *Antonio* fruſtrated, 'twas reſolved to draw off; which was accordingly done in good order. The *Spaniards* following at a diſtance, general *Norris* ſent a challenge to the *Spaniſh* general to come to a field-battle; which challenge was accompanied with another from the earl of *Eſſex*, inviting any of the enemies, being of his quality, to a ſingle combat. But the *Spaniards*, perceiving

the *Engliſh* to make a halt, thought fit to retire, before they could be reach'd by the meſſenger; who afterwards coming up with them, and delivering his meſſage, was ſent back without any anſwer. The troops being arrived at *Caſcais*, they took and demoliſhed the caſtle, and ſo re-embarqu'd. They were no ſooner under ſail, than they were attack'd by above twenty of the enemy's gallies, which, notwithſtanding the want of wind, were ſo well received, that they were forced to retire. In their way home, they landed and took *Vigo*, which they plundered and burnt, and afterwards ravaged the country. While the fleet lay at anchor in the bay of *Caſcais*, they ſeized no leſs than ſixty ſhips belonging to the *Hanſe Towns*, being laden with goods which the queen (upon the differences between her and them) had declared contraband. Theſe being brought to *England*, the queen at firſt had ſome deſign to confiſcate only the goods, and to releaſe the veſſels: But receiving advice of an extraordinary aſſembly held at *Lubeck*, to conſider of ways and means to be revenged on the *Engliſh* government, for the loſs of their privileges, ſhe made prize of all but two; which were diſcharged to carry home the news of their companions miſfortune.

In the year 1591, Sir *Richard Greenville* ſailed with ſix of the queen's ſhips, to cruize on the *Spaniſh* plate-fleet near the *Azores* or *Weſtern Iſlands*.

*Iſlands.* But being unfortunately ſeparated from his ſquadron, he was attacked alone in his ſhip the *Revenge* of fifty guns by *Alphonſo Baſſano* the *Spaniſh* admiral, who was ſent with fifty three ſhips to convoy that fleet to *Spain.* Againſt ſuch prodigious odds, Sir *Richard* maintained a retreating fight with incredible bravery for the ſpace of fifteen hours: But being at laſt ſurrounded, and his ſhip quite diſabled, he would have ſunk her, had not the few ſeamen, who remained alive, prevented him and delivered her up to the enemy. He died within two hours of his wounds, lamented and admired by the *Spaniards* themſelves, and his ſhip was never carried in triumph into *Spain,* but ſunk ſoon after. In this unequal fight the enemy loſt ſeveral of their ſhips, and had about a thouſand of their men killed or drowned.

The deſtruction of the ſo called *Invincible Armada* had ſo broken the naval power of the *Spaniſh* nation, that for ſeveral years they were reduced to a neceſſity of acting the defenſive part. But at laſt, ſome preparations were made in *Spain* which ſeemed to threaten *England* with a ſecond invaſion. Upon advice of which, queen *Elizabeth,* in the year 1595, cauſed two ſquadrons to be got ready; one to guard the coaſt, and the other, under command of Sir *Francis Drake,* and Sir *John Hawkins,* to make a diverſion in *America.* But, notwithſtanding the utmoſt diligence that could be uſed to protect

the coaſt, four *Spaniſh* gallies landing ſome men at break of day in *Mount's-bay* in *Cornwal*, plundered and burnt three villages: Which was the only invaſion the enemy had the courage to attempt. In the mean time, *Drake* and *Hawkins* ſailed with their ſquadron to the *Grand Canary*; but meeting with no ſucceſs, they proceeded to *St. Juan de Porto Rico* (where *Hawkins* ſickened and died) from whence, after having deſtroyed five rich *Spaniſh* ſhips, they ſailed to the main land of *America*. There they ſet on ſhoar ſome troops under command of Sir *Thomas Baſkerville*, and took *Rio de la Hacha* (a town noted for the *Pearl-Fiſhery*) as alſo *Santa Martha*, (another conſiderable town) which were plundered and burnt. From thence they ſailed to *Tapia* and *Nombre de Dios*, which, together with the ſhipping in the harbours, ſuffered the ſame fate. The troops had likewiſe a deſign to march to *Panama*, but finding the paſs defended, contrary to expectation, by a new-erected fort, they returned on board: And Sir *Francis Drake* dying ſoon after, the fleet, deprived of both the admirals, ſet ſail for *England*. In their return there happened an engagement with a *Spaniſh* fleet of twenty ſail near the iſland *Cuba*: But, after a diſpute of two hours, the enemy retired with the loſs of one ſhip, which was burnt. The *Engliſh* purſuing their voyage arrived ſafe in *England* with their booty, which was very conſiderable.

The

The taking of *Cadiz* rendered the year 96 almoſt as remarkable as the year 88. This famous expedition was undertaken by the earl of *Eſſex* with a body of troops, and the lord admiral *Howard* with a ſtrong ſquadron, to which ſome *Dutch* ſhips were joined under the admiral of *Holland*. After a proſperous voyage, and the ſeizing of ſeveral ſhips belonging to the *Hanſe Towns*, the fleet being arrived before *Cadiz*, an attempt was immediately made to land the troops; but this was prevented by the hard wind. Whereupon the *Spaniards* taking the alarm, about ſixty large ſhips, bound ſome to the *Indies* and others to *Lisbon*, and about twenty gallies, came out and drew into a line of battle, before the entrance of the bay under the cannon of the forts. Theſe were bravely attacked on the 11th of *June*, and after a ſharp engagement, a great galleon called the *St. Philip*, and two others, were left by the *Spaniards*, and burnt to prevent their falling into the hands of the *Engliſh*; two large ones, of about 1200 tons each, were boarded and taken, and the reſt forced on ſhoar. The gallies hereupon retired to the bridge called *Puente de Huaco*, from whence they afterwards found means to eſcape to *Rota*. So rich were the ladings of the ſhips which were forced on ſhoar, that the *Spaniards* agreed to pay two millions and an half of ducates to prevent their being deſtroyed. This victory being

ing won, the earl of *Eſſex*, without loſs of time, landed with about three thouſand men, and marched directly to the city; before which finding a conſiderable body of *Spaniards*, both horſe and foot, he charged them with ſo much vigour that, after a hot diſpute of about an hour, they were put to the rout and purſued to the very gate. The *Engliſh*, without delay, ſet themſelves to ſcale the walls; and before eight in the evening, in ſpite of all reſiſtance, they ſaw themſelves maſters of the city and forts. But the caſtle holding out, the general ſent a ſummons to the governor with a threatening to put the gariſon to the ſword, if he did not ſubmit before the next morning: Upon which, he ſoon after ſurrendered. Thus were two battles won, and a ſtrong and rich city taken in the ſpace of fourteen hours. The next day, the *Spaniards* choſe rather to ſet fire to their ſhips that lay on ſhoar, than to pay the ſum agreed on for their ranſom: Which ſo provoked the *Engliſh*, that having plundered the city, they reduced it to aſhes, ſparing only the fine cathedral and the religious houſes. After this they landed in *Portugal* and burnt the city of *Faraon*, and ſo returned triumphantly to *England*; after having done the enemy ſo much damage as was computed to amount to twenty millions of ducates.

The *Spaniards*, ſeeking revenge, made ſome preparations the following year for an attempt

on

on the *Engliſh* coaſt: For which purpoſe a number of ſhips were got together at the *Groyn* and *Ferrol.* Hereupon a fleet of forty men of war, and ſome land-forces under command of the earl of *Eſſex*, together with ten *Dutch* men of war under the *Heer van Duyvenvoorden*, were ſent to deſtroy them in their harbours. But this being found impracticable thro' too long delay, which had given the *Spaniards* time to provide for their defence, the fleet therefore proceeded to the *Azores*; where the town of *Fayal* was taken by Sir *W. Raleigh*, as was the iſland *Gratioſa* ſoon after by the fleet in conjunction. Here they continued to cruize on the *Spaniſh American Fleet.* But theſe, having narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands, ſteered away for *Tercera*, where they arrived in ſafety, except three very rich ſhips that were taken by Sir *William Monſon.* The *Engliſh* followed them to *Tercera*; but finding them drawn cloſe under the forts, they judged it not adviſeable to attack them. After this, they attempted *Villa Franca* on the iſland of *St. Michael*; which was taken, plundered, and burnt. In the mean time, Sir *W. Raleigh*, who was ſtationed near that iſland with ſome ſhips, diſcovered an *Eaſt-India Carack*, which the *Spaniſh* commander, to avoid being taken, ran on ſhoar juſt under *Ciudad*, the chief town of the iſland, and, after having taken out her lading, burnt her. Upon this the *Engliſh*, not finding the

the expected ſucceſs, reſolved to return home. But meeting with a violent ſtorm by the way, they were diſperſed for ſome days; yet without any conſiderable damage. On the contrary, the *Spaniſh* fleet, which was put to Sea from *Ferrol*, ſuffered much by the ſame ſtorm; ſeveral of the ſhips being loſt, and one driven into *Dartmouth* and ſeized. Soon after which, the *Engliſh* arrived ſafe in their port.

The war continuing, Sir *Richard Leviſon* and Sir *William Monſon* were ſent in the year 1602, with eight of the queen's ſhips and ſome hired veſſels to cruize near the coaſts of *Spain*. The former of theſe, with part of the ſquadron, happening to fall in with the *Spaniſh* fleet from *America*, conſiſting of thirty-eight ſail, engaged them with great bravery; but, being too weak, was obliged to leave them. They afterwards jointly attack'd eleven *Spaniſh* gallies, commanded by *Frederick Spinola*, and a large *Carack* in the haven of *Cezimbra*, on the coaſt of *Portugal*. Two of the gallies were taken and burnt; but the reſt, tho' much diſabled, had the good fortune to eſcape. The *Carack*, which was of ſixteen hundred tons, yielded, and with her cargo, valued at a million of ducates, was brought ſafe to *England*. Eight of the gallies that eſcaped, being afterwards met by Sir *Robert Manſel* in their way to *Flanders* (whither they were bound with warlike ſtores) were all, except *Spinola*'s own gally, either ſunk or deſtroyed on the *Flemiſh* coaſt.

While

While the government of *England* was acting thus vigorouſly againſt the enemy, there wanted not private adventurers, who, excited by the hopes of ſharing in the plunder of *Spain*, made themſelves remarkable by the boldneſs of their undertakings. But being unwilling to break the thread of the hiſtory of the war between the two governments, by ſo many incoherent actions, we have reſerved their exploits for this place.

One of the firſt, as well as braveſt, of theſe private adventurers, was the earl of *Cumberland*, who was deſcended from an elder branch of the noble family of *Clifford* in *Devonſhire*, which firſt had the title of earls of *Cumberland*, in the 7th year of *Hen.* VIII, but loſt it *An.* 1643, by defect of male iſſue. His firſt expedition was in the year 1575, when with three ſmall ſhips he attack'd a large *Portugueze Carack*, called *the Five Wounds of Chriſt*; which by misfortune taking fire, during the fight, was burnt with vaſt riches. He undertook another voyage to the *Azores Iſlands*, in the year 1590, when landing ſome men, he made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle of *Fayal*. The town he plundered, and demoliſhed the caſtle, bringing off, beſides other booty, fifty-eight pieces of heavy cannon. After this, cruizing in company of captain *Burroughs* near *Flores*, he attack'd, and obliged the enemy to ſet fire to a large *Carack*, called *the Mother of God*, with a lading valued

valued at an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. His laſt and moſt remarkable expedition was in the year 1596 with about twenty ſhips and a body of a thouſand or twelve hundred ſoldiers, raiſed chiefly at his own expence. Sailing to the *Canary Iſlands*, he landed ſome men and made himſelf maſter of *Lancerota*, one of the largeſt of thoſe iſlands: From whence proceeding to the *Weſt-Indies*, he landed and attacked *Puerto Rico*, a very ſtrong town defended by ſeveral forts, which, after great proofs of his conduct and bravery, were obliged to ſurrender. The booty he brought off was conſiderable, beſides eighty fine pieces of cannon.

Another of thoſe private adventurers was captain *John Lancaſter*, who being employed by the *London* merchants with three ſhips, took thirty-nine *Spaniſh* ſhips at ſeveral times, as alſo a large *Portugueſe Carack* at *Pharnambuca*, with whoſe cargo he loaded fifteen of his ſmaller prizes, and at laſt brought his fleet ſafe to *England*.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* undertook ſuch another expedition, at his own expence. His firſt exploit on that occaſion was the taking of *Trinidada*; from whence he paſſed over with an hundred men in pinnaces to *Guiana*, and went up the great river *Oronoque* four hundred miles in ſearch of gold-mines: But, meeting with unſurmountable difficulties, he returned. He concluded

cluded the expedition with taking and plundering the town of *Comana*; which, becauſe the inhabitants refuſed to ranſom it, was burnt.

Several other private adventurers did conſiderable damage to the *Spaniards*; particularly the captains *Preſton* and *Sommers*; who plundered two iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*, as alſo the towns of *St. Jago de Leon* and *Coro* on the *Main Land*. Captain *George Riman* and captain *James Lancaſter* likewiſe undertook a voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*. *Riman* was unfortunately loſt in a ſtorm; but *Lancaſter* continued his voyage, took ſeveral prizes, and, at laſt with great difficulty returning home, firſt taught the *Engliſh* the method of trading in thoſe parts. His diſcoveries were of ſuch uſe, that, in the year 1600, queen *Elizabeth* erected an *Eaſt-India Company*, who ſoon after eſtabliſhed divers factories and became conſiderable ſharers in that profitable trade.

But here we muſt conclude the ſucceſſes and triumphs of the reign of this glorious queen who died in the year 1603, having by her wiſe conduct and the bravery of her Sea-commanders ſpread her fame into all parts of the known world. She was ſenſible of the true foundation of her greatneſs, and looked upon manufactures as the richeſt mine of the ſtate, and the dominion of the Seas as the chief jewel of her crown. This diſpoſed her to take all poſſible meaſures both to promote trade, and to deprive

deprive the neighbouring nations of the means of rivaling the *Engliſh* at Sea. By her victorious arms ſhe broke the naval force of *Spain*, and curbed the inſolence of the *Hanſe Towns*. The terror of her ſucceſſes held *France*, tho' governed by the great *Henry*, ſo much in awe, that the Sea-forces of that kingdom could not become formidable, during her reign: And having the *Bril*, *Ramakins*, and *Fluſhing*, the keys of *Holland* and *Zealand*, in her hands, ſhe could as it were lock up the Sea-forces of the *Dutch* at her pleaſure. Thus ſhe remained till her death the abſolute miſtreſs of the Seas, and by conſequence the arbitreſs of the affairs of *Europe*. To ſignify this, ſhe cauſed a portcullis to be ſtamped on ſome of her coin, intimating thereby that it was in her power to ſhut up the Sea: Which ſhe made ſufficiently appear, when the king of *Denmark*, and the *Hanſe Towns*, ſoliciting a paſſage through her Seas to tranſport corn to *Spain*, were refuſed it; and when the *Hanſiatick Fleet*, which had dared to attempt a paſſage without her permiſſion, was ſeized and confiſcated.

CHAP.

# CHAP. IV.

*An Account of the* Engliſh Sea-affairs, *from the Death of Queen* Elizabeth *to the* Reſtoration.

THE only naval expedition, during the peaceful reign of king *James* I, was performed by Sir *Walter Raleigh*: The occaſion of which was as follows.

Tho' a peace had been concluded with *Spain* upon the acceſſion of king *James* to the crown of *England*; yet that unfortunate gentleman, (after a tedious confinement in the *Tower* under ſentence of death for endeavouring to prevent the ſaid acceſſion) propoſed a ſecond voyage to *Guiana* in ſearch of the gold mines before-mentioned; which he thought might be taken poſſeſſion of, without breach of the peace ſubſiſting between the crowns of *England* and *Spain*. The voyage was accordingly undertaken with the king's conſent. But Sir *Walter* going beyond his commiſſion (as was ſaid) by attacking and plundering the town of *St. Thomas*, this action proved the ruin of that great man. He eaſily foreſaw the fatal conſequence, in caſe of his return to *England*, and therefore would have ſecured himſelf

ſelf by retiring with his ſhip to *France*; but the ſeamen being unwilling to forſake their native country, to ſhare in his misfortunes, brought him back to meet his deſtiny. For, notwithſtanding that he pleaded the king's commiſſion, addreſs'd to his *Truſty and Well-beloved*, &c. (which he would have interpreted as a pardon for his former offence) and tho' he alledged that the *Spaniards* were the aggreſſors, as alſo that he could not come at the mines, without firſt winning the town: Yet the ſentence of his former condemnation was executed upon him, by beheading in the palace-yard in *Weſtminſter*, *Octob.* 29, 1618.

But tho' the reign of king *James* gave but little occaſion to the *Engliſh*, to ſhew their power at Sea; yet ſeveral plantations or ſettlements were then begun in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and the *Spaniſh* trade, after the peace with that crown, was ſet on an advantageous foot, and made free by a law for all the ſubjects of *England*, to the great enriching of the nation.

In this reign a treaty was likewiſe concluded with the *Dutch*, tending to the ſecurity and advantage of the *Eaſt-India* trade; but without the deſired effect. For the *Hollanders* (tho' but lately aſſiſted by the *Engliſh* in taking the iſland *Ternata* from the *Portugueſe*) endeavouring to engroſs to themſelves the whole trade of the kingdom of *Jucatra*, where the *Engliſh* had a factory, a war enſued thereupon between the

two

two companies in thoſe parts. The ſtrength of both parties met near the coaſt of *Java*, and the *Hollanders* were defeated in a conſiderable Sea-fight: But the fleets, meeting a ſecond time, were parted by a ſtorm *. Soon after this, the *Engliſh* landed ſome troops on the iſland *Java*, and beſieged the *Dutch* fort near the city *Jucatra*, which is now called *Batavia*. But having proceeded ſo far as to oblige the garriſon to ocapitulate, and agree to ſurrender the place within a limited time, the ſiege was unexpectedly raiſed by a great army of *Indians*, that came from *Bantam*; upon whoſe approach, the *Engliſh*, finding themſelves much too weak, made their retreat without loſs. Theſe actions occaſioned a great jealouſy between the two nations in thoſe parts, and were followed by the tragedy of *Amboina*, which has ſince been partly the occaſion of ſo many other tragedies.

*Amboina* is one of the *Sindæ* (iſlands lying near the *Molucca*'s) and is famous for ſpices. On this iſland the *Engliſh* had a factory. But in the year 1622, the agents of the *Dutch*-company, being willing to engroſs the whole trade into their own hands, pretended a plot was formed by the *Engliſh* (tho' not above twenty in number) to ſurprize the fort, in which the *Dutch* had at that time above two hundred ſoldiers. Seizing thoſe unfortunate



† Hiſt. d' Holland par Monſ. de Neufville.

people, they put them to the torture, in order to extort from them a confeſſion of the pretended conſpiracy. Ten of them expired in the midſt of their torments, aſſerting their innocence to the very laſt; and thoſe which ſurvived, were baniſhed the iſland. Nor did they ſtop here, but ſeized upon the *Engliſh* factories in *Seran*, *Pooloroon*, and other neighbouring iſlands; becoming by thoſe means almoſt entire maſters of the ſpice-trade.

King *Charles* I, ſucceeding his father king *James*, in the year 1625, found himſelf (thro' the raſhneſs of his favourite the duke of *Buckingham*) engaged in a double war againſt *France* and *Spain*: Upon which there happened ſeveral actions with various ſucceſs. The earl of *Warwick*, *An.* 1626, with three frigates attacking a fleet of *Spaniards* of forty ſail, bound for *Dunkirk*, with two thouſand ſoldiers on board, ſunk five, and diſpers'd and drove back the reſt; whereof few arrived in *Spain*, moſt of them periſhing by ſtorm. Alſo Sir *Kenelm Digby*, in the year 1629, after having taken conſiderable prizes from the *French*, attack'd ſeveral ſhips of the ſame nation at *Cape Congare*, which (tho' his ſquadron conſiſted but of ſix frigates) bore ſufficient marks of his civility, as did two large *Venetian* galliaſſes, and as many galleons, which protected them. The *Engliſh*, likewiſe attacking the *French* city of *Quebec* in *North-America*, reduced it, together with the whole country

of

of *Canada.* * But the expedition to *Cadiz* under my lord *Wimbleton,* being without ſucceſs, and the duke of *Buckingham*'s deſcent on the iſle of *Rhe,* tho' ſucceſsful at firſt, by the defeat of a good body of *French* troops, yet ending in a repulſe, (as did likewiſe the attempt of the earl of *Lindſey* to force the barricadoes before *Rochelle*) both the wars paſſed without any farther action.

The reſt of this reign, (if we only except a ſhort diſpute with the *Hollanders* about the fiſhery, and the deſtruction of ſome *Mooriſh Corſairs* in the harbour of *Sally* by admiral *Rainſborow*) was nothing elſe but a ſtruggle between prerogative and liberty: Which producing a calamitous inteſtine war, and concluding in the tragical end of the king, and ſubverſion of the conſtitution both of church and ſtate, prevented all farther deſigns of aſſerting the *Engliſh* dominion at Sea againſt the *Dutch.* Yet this made way for another form of government, which, tho' but of ſhort continuance, raiſed the reputation of the *Engliſh* Sea-forces to a high pitch of glory.

During the civil war, thoſe, who had the fleet in their power, found it their intereſt to maintain a conſiderable force at Sea; partly to prevent the ruin of trade, thro' the inſults of foreigners, and partly to cut off all foreign aſſiſtance from the *Royaliſts.* With theſe views,



* *Hennepin*'s Voyage.

they made choice of *Blake*, *Dean*, and *Popham*, to command as admirals; who, as it happened, were not long without employment; which, tho' of ſmall conſequence, yet helped to train them up for greater ſervices. In the year 1648, ſeventeen men of war and frigates revolting to the king, ſailed for *Holland*, and ſubmitted by their deputies to prince *Charles*, then reſiding as an exile at the *Hague*. So conſiderable a reinforcement raiſed new hopes in the prince, who received their deputies with the greateſt civility and honour, and after ſufficient aſſurances of their fidelity and zeal for his ſervice, took the reſolution to command them in perſon; and accordingly, in the month of *Auguſt*, he ſet ſail with them for the *Thames*. His chief expectation was, that his preſence, with ſo ſtrong a ſquadron upon the coaſt, would encourage others to follow their example, by declaring for the *Royal Party*. Coming to the mouth of the *Thames*, he found the earl of *Warwick*, chief admiral for the parliament, riding at anchor with a ſquadron; whom he commanded to ſtrike and obey him, as the king's high admiral. But the earl refuſing to ſtrike, the royal fleet, (partly for want of proviſions, and partly for fear of another ſquadron under *Aſcough*, which came from *Portſmouth*, and, ſailing by the prince, joined the earl of *Warwick* by night) were obliged to return to *Holland*, being purſued by the two united ſquadrons as far as *Goeree*. This

This fleet was afterwards committed to the conduct of the princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*. But ſome of them, by the perſuaſions of the earl of *Warwick*, returning to the obedience of their former maſters, the reſt were purſued by *Blake* to *Kingſale* in *Ireland*; where being blocked up in the harbour, while *Cromwel* beſieged the town by land, they were obliged to take a deſperate reſolution, and to force their way through *Blake's* ſquadron; which they effected, but with the loſs of three of their ſhips, taken by *Blake*. From thence ſailing to *Lisbon*, they found protection from the king of *Portugal*; which occaſioned a breach between that king and the government of *England*. *Blake*, cloſely purſuing them, blocked up the port of *Lisbon*, taking in the mean time ſeveral *French* and *Portugueſe* men of war which had done ſome miſchief to the *Engliſh* merchants. But, being at laſt forced by ſtreſs of weather to leave the coaſt, the princes found opportunity to eſcape to *Malaga*, and from thence to *Alicant*. *Blake*, getting intelligence of this, ſent home his heavieſt ſhips with the prizes, and with ſeven light frigates continued the purſuit. By the way he took a *French* frigate of twenty guns, as alſo the *Roe-buck*, one of the princes ſhips; and meeting another, called the *Black Prince*, he forced her on ſhoar, where ſhe was burnt. Four others of the princes men of war and prizes, being chaſed, ran on ſhoar in the bay of *Carthagena*;

*thagena*; where they were unloaded and left by their people. At laſt, the princes, finding no place of retreat or hope of ſucceſs in *Europe*, ſailed with three ſhips to the *Weſt-Indies*; where prince *Maurice* unfortunately periſhing in a hurricane, prince *Rupert* returned to *Europe*, and ſold the two remaining ſhips in *France* to the cardinal *Mazarine*.

Soon after *Blake*'s return to *England*, *Popham* was ſent to cruiſe on the coaſt of *Portugal*, where not only the princes had found protection, but the *Engliſh* agent had likewiſe met with ſome affront. In this cruiſe, *Popham* had the good fortune to take eighteen ſail of the *Portugueſe Weſt-India Fleet*; all which were brought ſafe to *England*.

In the mean time, the iſlands of *Scilly*, conſiderable for their natural ſtrength and convenient ſituation in the mouth of the *Channel*, having ſerved for a retreat to ſeveral of the king's frigates, which ſometimes made prize of ſuch *Engliſh* ſhips as they could maſter; the *Engliſh* government, to prevent this for the future, ſent *Blake* with a ſquadron and ſome land forces to reduce them. This was ſoon effected without any conſiderable loſs, and two ſmall frigates were taken in the harbours. The iſlands *Jerſey*, *Guernſey*, and *Man*, ſoon ſhared the ſame fate, and contributed to make the ſucceſs of the then prevailing party as complete by Sea as it was by Land.

The

The firſt *Dutch* war, on which we are juſt entering, will oblige us to look back a little, and to give a more particular account of ſome tranſactions which we hinted at before.

The pacifick temper of king *James* I, was the occaſion that nothing followed on the mentioned proceeding at *Amboina*, during his reign. But his ſon king *Charles* I, being alarmed at the growing greatneſs of the *Hollanders*, (which the injuries already received had cauſed him more ſenſibly to apprehend) and conſidering their fiſhery on the *Britiſh* coaſt as the main foundation of their power at Sea, took a reſolution, a little before the breaking out of the civil war, either to deprive them of that profitable fiſhery for the future, or elſe to oblige them to purchaſe a licence in acknowledgment of his dominion of the *Britiſh* Seas.

For this purpoſe, in the year 1636, having fitted out a conſiderable fleet under command of the duke of *Northumberland*, he, as lord of the *Britiſh Seas*, diſturbed their fiſhery, and forced them to agree to the payment of the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds for the liberty of fiſhing that ſummer; which ſum was accordingly paid. But afterwards, the yearly payment of the ſaid ſum was not only refuſed, but (as it were by way of reprizal) the plantation of *New Netherland* was undertaken by their *Weſt-India* company; and the *Eaſt-India* company, aſſuming the title of *Lords of the Southern Seas*, took

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took and confiſcated ſeveral rich *Engliſh* ſhips trading in thoſe parts.

'Tis confeſſed that, by an article in the treaty of *Breda*, Anno 1667, both theſe and the former facts are agreed to be buried in oblivion; ſo far at leaſt as not to be made uſe of as a handle to embroil the two nations for the future: But as they have been, more than once, alledged as occaſions of great effuſion of blood, they could not be omitted here, without depriving the following conduct of the *Engliſh* government of its neceſſary vindication.

To proceed. The unfortunate king *Charles*, thro' the fatal miſunderſtanding between him and his parliament, being out of capacity to procure his juſt ſatisfaction for theſe indignities, the matter ſlept till after the end of the civil war, when the *Hollanders* chanced to fall into the hands of the rump-parliament and *Cromwel*.

The quarrel between the ſtates and the rump was not occaſioned merely by the aforeſaid uſurpations on the *Engliſh* at Sea, but it ſprung chiefly from another cauſe. The rump tho' every where victorious, yet fearing that their late unprecedented proceedings againſt the king had diſguſted all other princes as well as the *Czar* of *Muſcovy* (who upon the news of king *Charles*'s death had baniſhed the *Engliſh* his country) took the opportunity of prince *William* II of *Orange's* deceaſe to court the ſtates by their embaſſadors to conclude a ſtrict confe-

deracy

deracy between the two commonwealths by the renewal of the treaty of 1495. This overture (which, by the conjunction of the two greateſt naval powers, might have ſecured to the rump the poſſeſſion of their newly-acquired authority) met with vigorous oppoſition from the *Orange Party* among the ſtates; who eaſily foreſaw that ſuch a confederacy or coalition of the two nations would not only prove the depopulation of *Holland*, but would be deſtructive to the intereſt of the houſe of *Orange* by effectually excluding both king and ſtadt-holder. Theſe therefore ſet all their engines at work, partly to contrive delays, partly to incenſe the rabble againſt the embaſſadors: And their credit was at that time ſo great, that the utmoſt efforts of the enemies of the houſe of *Orange*, to favour the treaty of coalition, were in vain.

The affronts put upon their embaſſadors and the rejection of their propoſals were ſo reſented by the rump, that ſoon after the battle of *Worceſter* (which was the ruin of the *Royal Party*) they, to revenge themſelves on the *Dutch*, paſſed the *Act of Navigation*: Which act has ſince been very famous; being confirmed (with very little alteration) by king *Charles* II. The ſubſtance of it was, That no merchandiſe might by any nation be imported into any part of the dominions of *England*, except in veſſels belonging to *Engliſh* ſubjects; and that all foreign goods ſhould not only be brought in ſhips belonging

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to the ſubjects of *England*, but be laden at ſuch places where they grew, or at leaſt in ſuch ports from whence they muſt neceſſarily be imported, or where they were uſually bought at the firſt hand. By virtue of which the *Dutch* (who had little or nothing of their own growth) were in effect debarred all navigation and trade to the *Engliſh* dominions both in *Europe* and *America* (from which they had reaped great advantages) and their ſhips were made liable to continual ſearches and confiſcations. Yet theſe were not the only articles, but others were added concerning the fiſhery; and ſeveral orders were publiſhed regarding the merchandiſes imported from the *Eaſt-Indies*, the *Levant*, and the coaſts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, wherein the *Hollanders* could find but little ſatisfaction.

Theſe were ſuch ſenſible blows to the ſtates, that they immediately diſpatched three embaſſadors to pacify the *Engliſh* government. But this they were ſo far from effecting, that at their firſt audience, *April* 15, 1652, the rump demanded the arrears for their fiſhing on the coaſt of *Britain*, the delivering up of the ſurviving actors in the tragedy of *Amboina* to juſtice, and a free trade upon the river *Scheld*.

Soon after this, letters of mart were granted for reparation of damages ſuſtained from the *Hollanders* in time of peace; by virtue of which ſeveral *Dutch* veſſels were taken. But, before it came to a war, many more ſhips were

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ſeized and confiſcated on account of the *Act of Navigation*; which the ſtates having in vain reclaimed by their embaſſadors, the treaty ended in an open rupture.

The late ſucceſſes of the *Hollanders* againſt the *Spaniards* and *Dunkirkers* had, it ſeems, ſo raiſed their courage that they were forward enough to try their fortune with the *Engliſh*, whom they regarded as their chief competitors in point of trade. But becauſe what the *Engliſh* had done in granting letters of mart, and in paſſing the *Act of Navigation*, was no other than what all nations have a right to do (being by the law of nature impowered to make repriſals, and eſtabliſh ſuch regulations, with reſpect to trade, as are judged to be for the benefit of the community, and not to contradict any former contracts) therefore they could not with ſo good a grace proceed to hoſtilities upon thoſe accounts. They therefore choſe rather to begin the war by refuſing to ſtrike the flag, or to acknowledge the *Engliſh* dominion of the Seas: Which method they thought could not but appear very plauſible, it being, as they pretended, the reſiſting a tyranny which other nations were equally concerned to oppoſe.

But, before we proceed to an account of the war, it may not be amiſs to take a view of the ſtate of both nations, with reference to the Sea.

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The whale, herring and cod-fiſheries, joined with the commerce of almoſt the whole world, had rendered the *Dutch* the moſt powerful nation at Sea that perhaps the world ever ſaw. The number of their fiſhing and trading veſſels is computed to have exceeded that of all other nations in *Europe*. Their people were well exerciſed, and animated by their ſucceſſes in the *Spaniſh* war, which had been but lately finiſhed by an advantageous peace: And the vaſt confluence of Sea-faring men from all the *Northern* parts, drawn by the fame of their commerce, furniſhed them, without preſſing, with ſuch numbers of able ſailors as could not eaſily be exhauſted by a long war. So that to wage war with them was, in ſome reſpect, to war againſt a great part of *Europe*. Beſides all theſe advantages, ſuch were the riches of the *United Provinces*, that even during this war (which was finiſhed in leſs than the ſpace of two years) they built ſixty capital ſhips, of ſuch bigneſs and force as had never been ſeen in thoſe parts. *

On the contrary, the *Engliſh* did not enjoy ſo great a ſhare of commerce; they too much neglected the fiſheries on their coaſt, and employed almoſt none but their own ſubjects, who, during the long reigns of king *James* and *Charles* I, had been little exerciſed in Sea engagements.

The

* Intereſt van Holland, p. 136.

The *Dutch* ſhips were built flatter-bottomed, and therefore drew leſs water than the *Engliſh*; Which qualification rendered them more capable of ſailing among the ſhallows, where they often found a ſecure retreat, when chaſed by the enemy.

The *Engliſh* ſhips being built of tougher wood, and with ſharper keels, were leſs ſubject to ſplinter, and fitter to diſpute the weather-gage; which they ſeldom failed to gain, tho' not always to their advantage.

In the year 1652, the *Dutch* admiral, *Martin Herbertſon Tromp*, an old experienced commander, who had given divers proofs of his capacity againſt other nations, was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron to ſecure the *Dutch* commerce, which had been much diſturbed ſince the late *Act of Navigation*. His orders were, to protect the *Dutch* merchant-ſhips againſt all ſearches, and, with reſpect to the flag, to act according to his diſcretion, and to do nothing that might tend to his nation's diſhonour *. In purſuance to theſe orders, *May* 18, he came with forty-two men of war into *Dover-road*, on pretence of being driven from the coaſt of *Dunkirk* by ſtreſs of weather. Here he found *Blake* with fifteen ſhips, (the *Dutch* author of *De Ruyter's* life, by miſtake, ſays fifty) whereof the admiral-ſhip carried eighty guns, and between five and ſix hundred men; but the reſt were of the middling

* Het Leven van De Ruyter, p. 26.

dling ſort. *Tromp* refuſing to ſtrike, tho' warn'd by ſeveral ſhots from the *Engliſh* admiral, a ſharp fight enſued, which laſted from four in the afternoon till nine at night. The groſs of the *Engliſh* not being able to come up ſoon enough, *Blake* (as he ſays in his letter to the government) was four hours engaged, almoſt alone, with the *Dutch* fleet. His ſhip, the *St. James*, received about ſeven hundred great ſhots in her maſts and hull, and infinite ſhots in her ſails and rigging, tho' with no greater loſs than of forty men killed and wounded. But at laſt, being bravely ſeconded, and *Bourn*, (who lay in the *Downs*) coming with eight men of war to his aſſiſtance, and attacking *Tromp* in the rear, the fight ended to the advantage of the *Engliſh*, who took two * *Dutch* men of war without the loſs of any ſhip on their ſide. The conſequence was, that *Tromp* drawing his ſhattered fleet to the back of the *Goodwin-Sands*, inſtead of ſecuring the *Dutch* commerce, retreated next morning to the coaſt of *Zealand*.

This was the prologue to the tragedy that was afterwards acted by the mightieſt enemies that ever ſailed upon the Sea.

After the fight, declarations were publiſhed, atteſted by all the principal officers, wherein both parties accuſed each other of being the aggreſſors. Thoſe declarations, how different ſoever, yet in effect agree in this; that

* Levens der Zeehelden Tweede. Deel. p. 95.

that *Tromp* did not ſtrike his flag. The impartial reader will beſt judge, whether his refuſal, to comply with that ancient pretenſion of the *Engliſh* nation, may not ſufficiently prove him the aggreſſor, or at leaſt the cauſe of the combat which enſued, tho' he had not given the firſt broad-ſide as the *Engliſh* affirm he did.

The ſucceſs of this engagement having ſo little anſwered either the advantages or the expectations of the *Dutch*, the ſtates immediately diſpatched away a letter to the *Engliſh* council of ſtate, to excuſe it: Proteſting, that it happened without their knowledge, and againſt their wills; and concluding with theſe words: "We again "pray this moſt honourable council, and be-"ſeech you by the pledges both of common "religion and liberty, to ſuffer nothing to be "done out of too much heat, *&c.* but rather "to let us receive a kind anſwer, without far-"ther delay, to our laſt requeſt." They alſo deſired the releaſe of the ſhips taken by the *Engliſh* in the fight. This letter producing no effect, they ſent the *Heer Adriaan Paauw*, penſioner of *Holland*, with the like requeſts. But he found the council inflexible; who inſiſted on reparation of damages ſuſtained in time of peace, and ſecurity againſt the like attempts for the future; beſides their other demand of a ſtrict union between the two nations: Which the ſtates not conſenting to, the *Heer Paauw* and the other embaſſadors were

recalled, and the war was proclaimed in *Holland* on the 8th of *July*.

During theſe tranſactions, the *Engliſh*, by virtue of the *Act of Navigation*, and by way of repriſal, and requital for the late damages, affronts and hoſtilities, took many *Dutch* ſhips. *June* 11, *Blake* brought in eleven merchant-ſhips with their convoy, coming from *Nantz*. *June* 12, the captains, *Taylor* and *Peacock*, in two *Engliſh* frigates, engaged two *Dutch* men of war on the coaſt of *Flanders*, for refuſing to ſtrike; of the which one was taken, and the other ſtranded. And on the 13th of the ſame month, *Blake* took twenty-ſix merchant-ſhips with three convoys, bound home from *France*. *July* 4, vice-admiral *Aſcough* (who, in his late return from the reduction of *Barbadoes*, had taken ten merchant-ſhips, and four men of war) attack'd the *St. Ubes*-fleet of about forty ſail, of which near thirty were taken, burnt, or ſtranded and plundered on the *French* coaſt.

While the ſtates, with the utmoſt diligence, were getting ready a fleet of ſeventy men of war, under the command of *Tromp*, *Blake*, with about ſixty, received order to ſail to the *North*, to diſturb the *Dutch* fiſhery. Sir *George Aſcough* (who, ſince the deſtruction of the *St. Ubes*-fleet, had taken five *Dutch* merchant-ſhips) was left with the remainder of the *Engliſh*-fleet, conſiſting of ſeven men of war, in the *Downs*. *Blake*, coming upon the coaſt of *Scotland*, found the whole

whole *Dutch*-fleet of herring-buſſes, under a convoy of thirteen frigates: But, ſcorning to take advantage of his numbers, he detached eight of his ſhips (tho' ſome *Dutch* hiſtorians ſay twenty) which, after a fight of two or three hours, took twelve of the frigates. During the action, about an hundred herring-buſſes, with fifteen hundred men, were taken by the reſt of the fleet. But theſe, after being unloaded, were ſent with the men to *Holland:* Which gave occaſion to a report there, that all the buſſes eſcaped. In *England*, ſome gave this act of generoſity the name of ill conduct; conceiving, that, if *Blake* had detained the men and buſſes, it would not only have proved a conſiderable weakening to the enemy, but have put the *Engliſh* into a condition to have engaged with greater advantage in that profitable fiſhery. In his return, ſome of the *Engliſh* frigates gave chaſe to two *Zealand* men of war, which were likewiſe taken.

In the mean time, *Tromp*, with his fleet of ſeventy men of war, came before the *Thames*. But after having in vain attempted to ſurprize *Aſcough*, and inſulted the coaſt, he ſailed to the *Northward* in queſt of *Blake*. By the way, being attack'd by a violent ſtorm, ſome of his ſhips were loſt; and ſix or ſeven, being ſcattered, were taken by *Blake*; who returned triumphantly with his prizes, while the *Dutch* made the beſt of their way to their next harbour.

By theſe ill ſucceſſes, *Tromp* fell into ſuch diſgrace with the ſtates, that he ſurrendered his commiſſion, and the command of the fleet was given to *De Witte* and *De Ruyter*; the latter of which, tho' he had taken a reſolution to quit the Sea-ſervice, and diſcovered no inclination to engage againſt the *Engliſh*; yet, by the earneſt ſollicitations of the ſtates, was at laſt prevailed on to accept a ſhare in the command.

The *Engliſh* government, to diſturb the *Dutch* commerce in the moſt effectual manner, ſent admiral *Aſcough* (being reinforced with ſeveral men of war) from the *Downs*, to cruize in the mouth of the channel, at the ſame time that *Blake* was in the *North*.

On the 28th of *Auguſt*, *Aſcough* cruizing off *Plymouth* with thirty-eight ſail, (among which were two ſhips of between fifty and ſixty guns, the reſt being light frigates and fire-ſhips) met and attack'd *De Ruyter*, who with a like number of ſhips, from twenty-four to forty guns, convoyed a fleet of about ſixty merchant-men. Above twenty of theſe, being ſtout ſhips, were by *De Ruyter* taken into the line, and, as it ſeems, were miſtaken by the *Engliſh* for men of war: For the *Engliſh* hiſtorians, in their accounts of this fight, reckon ſixty *Dutch* men of war, and but thirty merchant-men.

The engagement was very ſmart, near three thouſand cannon-ſhot being fired on each ſide:

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But hiſtorians differ about the ſucceſs. The *Engliſh* affirm unanimouſly, that *Aſcough* (tho' not well ſeconded by ſome of his captains) behaved himſelf very bravely, charging with eight or nine of his headmoſt ſhips, ſeveral times through and through the enemy's fleet: And they agree, that only the night put an end to the combat. Some of them add, that two or three of the *Dutch* men of war were deſtroyed; but all agree, that *Aſcough* loſt but a ſingle fire-ſhip: And they affirm, that nothing, but the damage ſuſtained in maſts and ſails, was the cauſe of his returning to *Plymouth*, without purſuing the enemy the following day.

The *Dutch* writers, on the contrary, affirm, that the *Engliſh* loſt two or three men of war, and had twelve or thirteen hundred men killed, wounded, and drowned. They add, that *De Ruyter* loſt no ſhip, and but few people. The *Dutch* author of *Tromp*'s life, tho' he owns that the fight laſted till about eight o'clock, when it began to grow dark, yet would perſuade us that the *Engliſh* fled. He likewiſe pretends that the *Dutch* purſued them for ſome while, tho' at the ſame time he confeſſes, that *De Ruyter*'s fleet was ſo diſabled, that he was obliged to ſend no leſs than fifteen of them home, and his own ſhip among the reſt. The ſame author puts ſuch an oration into the mouth of *De Ruyter* (which he pretends he made

after the fight, to encourage his officers to follow *Aſcough* to *Plymouth)* as, conſidering the uſual prudence and modeſty of that brave admiral, the ill ſtate of his fleet, and the obligation he was under to convoy the merchant-ſhips out of danger, muſt be looked upon as a mere figment, without any foundation, and as a very awkard imitation of the practice of ſpeech-making, introduced by ſome *Greek* and *Roman* hiſtorians. The ſame writer, tho' he complains, that ſeveral of the *Dutch* commanders behaved themſelves very ill; yet ſpeaks much of the bravery of a certain *Friezland* captain, who, he aſſures us, was attack'd by ſeveral of the *Engliſh* at once; inſomuch, that his men mutinied, and could hardly be with-held from delivering up the ſhip, till running down into the powder-room with a piece of lighted match, he threaten'd to blow them up, if they refuſed to do their duty. Whereupon, borrowing new courage from deſpair, they play'd their cannon ſo briskly, that two of the largeſt *Engliſh* ſhips were ſunk, and about eight hundred men drowned, and a third ſo diſabled, that ſhe was forced to hold off, and refit.

Theſe muſt be owned to be fine exploits; and 'tis pity the ſtory is ſpoiled by a very different account. For another noted *Dutch* relation ſays † only, that he ſunk one *Engliſh*

† Her Leven van De Ruyter.

*Engliſh* ſhip, chaſed away a ſecond, and that being boarded, and as good as taken by a third, he obliged the *Engliſh* to leave him, by threatening to blow up his ſhip. The inconſiſtence of theſe two relations ſufficiently ſhews how uncertain the whole matter is. And indeed, ſuch circumſtantial accounts of the actions of particular captains, (at leaſt in the greater Sea-fights) are fitter materials for a poem, than an hiſtory; unleſs either confeſſed by the enemy, or otherwiſe unexceptionably atteſted.

The war was not long confined to the coaſts of *Britain*, but ſpread itſelf into almoſt every Sea; and every wind brought the news of freſh deſtruction and ſlaughter. About the latter end of the ſame month, the *Dutch* admiral *Van Galen*, with eleven men of war, met and attack'd the *Engliſh* commadore, *Bodley*, with three men of war, a fire-ſhip, and three or four merchant-ſhips homeward bound from *Scanderoon* and *Smyrna*. The firſt day's fight began in the afternoon off the iſland *Elba*, and laſted till night, with little advantage to either party. The *Dutch* hiſtorians agree, that three of their men of war, being ſeparated in the night, and afterwards becalmed, could not come up to have a ſhare in the ſecond engagement. On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* parted from their merchant-ſhips, which, being heavy and richly laden, were ordered to make

the beſt of their way to the neareſt harbour. The next morning, the four remaining *Engliſh*, being attack'd by the eight *Hollanders*, the fight went on with great fury. *Van Galen* began a cloſe engagement with the *Engliſh* commadore; but being diſabled in his rigging, and having received three ſhots under-water, and been three times on fire, he was forced (as the *Dutch* hiſtorians confeſs) to leave him. Another of the enemy's largeſt ſhips, renewing the attack, was likewiſe ſo well received, that ſhe loſt her main-maſt. Whereupon, the *Engliſh* frigate, the *Phœnix*, taking the opportunity, boarded the diſabled *Hollander*; but, being too weak, was taken after a ſharp fight of an hour, wherein moſt of her men were either killed or wounded. In the mean time, the *Engliſh* commadore, *Bodley*, being again boarded by two of the enemies at once, defended himſelf ſo reſolutely, that (by the confeſſion of the *Dutch* hiſtorians) they were both beaten off, with a dreadful ſlaughter of their men, and the loſs of both their captains. Whereupon, *Bodley* ſeeing himſelf left by the enemy, after having loſt about an hundred men, killed and wounded, he with his three remaining ſhips followed the merchant-men to *Porto Longone*; leaving the *Hollanders* to caſt up the account of the honour and profit they gained by this encounter. The enemy loſt three of their captains

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in the fight, whom they afterwards buried at *Porto Longone*, where the *Engliſh* and they, being in a neutral port, continued very friendly together for ſome time.

About the ſame day as this encounter happened in the *Streights*, the *Engliſh* admiral *Blake*, ſailing to the weſtward, took in the *Channel* eleven *Streight* and *Weſt-India* ſhips, and ſunk a *Guinea* ſhip; amounting together to the value of four hundred thouſand pounds: And admiral *Pen* brought in ſix *Streight* ſhips from twenty to thirty-four guns, which had been in the ſervice of the *Venetians*, and were returning home very richly laden.

Tho' there was no war declared between *England* and *France*, yet ſome hoſtilities had happened on both ſides, occaſioned by the deſtroying of ſome *French* ſhips at *Newfoundland*, where they had attempted to fiſh by encouragement of the *Royaliſts*. Whereupon, a remarkable encounter enſued between *Blake* and the duke of *Vendoſm* on the 7th of *September*. *Vendoſm* (who had lately defeated the *Spaniſh* fleet under the count *D' Oignon*) was going to the relief of *Dunkirk*, then beſieged by the *Spaniards*; but being attacked by *Blake* with ſeven ſhips, ſeven *French* men of war were taken, together with a ſmall frigate of eight guns and a fire-ſhip. Upon which, both *Dunkirk* and *Greveling*, being deprived of the expected ſuccours,

cours, were obliged to ſurrender to the *Spaniards*.

Soon after this, *Blake*, who was ever indefatigable in the ſervice of his maſters, took twelve or fourteen *Dutch* ſhips, coming from *Nantz* and *Rochelle* with wine, brandy, and ſalt.

He had no ſooner ſecured his prizes, and, by his conjunction with *Bourn* in the *Downs*, formed a ſufficient fleet to oppoſe the deſigns of the new *Dutch* admirals, than he received notice that they approached the *Engliſh* coaſt. Whether their expectation was to have ſurpriſed the *Engliſh*, while weak and divided, without being obliged to hazard a general battle, or whether it was their intention to draw them towards their own coaſt in order to engage them with leſs danger to themſelves in the neighbourhood of their ſands, is uncertain. The *Engliſh* accounts agree that they diſcovered but little inclination to fight, firſt by their poſting themſelves behind a dangerous ſand called the *Kentiſh-Knock*, and then by holding off and avoiding a cloſe engagement. The number of ſhips was near equal, being about ſixty on each ſide. In this fight which happened on the 28th of *September*, 'tis agreed by the writers of both parties that tho' the *Dutch* came in ſearch of the *Engliſh*, yet theſe were the aggreſſors, and the *Dutch* were worſted: But there is ſome difference about the loſs ſuſtained on this occaſion. The *Engliſh* writers affirm, that

that a *Dutch* rear-admiral was boarded and taken, two ſhips ſunk, and another blown up; and that the reſt were purſued within twelve leagues of the coaſt of *Zealand*, without the loſs of one ſhip on the *Engliſh* ſide. Some of the *Dutch* writers pretend the *Hollanders* loſt no ſhips, but that one being taken was left again and brought ſafe into harbour. But *Aitzema*, an author more eſteemed for his ſincerity, ſays the *Engliſh* took two, but left them, for fear of ſinking. Some *Dutch* hiſtorians complain, that, in the heat of this engagement, above twenty of their beſt ſhips quitted the line and made the beſt of their way to the next harbours; and the *Engliſh* deſcribe the whole action rather as a flight than a battle: Yet it ſeems *De Witte* and *De Ruyter* (who fought bravely) ſuffered very much. The latter (who received four ſhots between wind and water, and loſt a great part of his men) would upon this misfortune have laid down his commiſſion; but being made vice-admiral in the room of *De Witte*, (who fell ſick of grief) he continued in the ſervice.

The ſtates, reſolving to puniſh ſuch who had failed in their duty, cauſed enquiry to be made into the behaviour of the officers: But nothing followed upon it; either (as the *Dutch* author of *Tromp*'s life ſays) becauſe their number was too great, or becauſe ſuch who were moſt guilty had good friends in the government.

Upon

Upon notice that the *Dutch* privateers had obliged about twenty ſail of *Engliſh* merchant-ſhips laden with naval ſtores, to ſeek protection at *Copenhagen*, commadore *Bale* was diſpatched away with a ſquadron to convoy them home: But the king of *Denmark*, at the deſire of the *Hollanders* and *Royaliſts*, detaining and confiſcating the merchant-ſhips, *Bale* was forced to return without them. By the way, his ſhip the *Antilope* of fifty guns ſtranded in the dark on the coaſt of *Jutland*, and was loſt, but the men were ſaved: By which misfortune the whole ſquadron, which followed the light of the commadore, was brought into the utmoſt danger. But getting clear, they afterwards obliged the enemy to make good both thoſe loſſes, by taking above twenty of their merchant-ſhips together with the convoy: All which, as likewiſe a privateer of twenty guns, they brought ſafe to *England* without any further rencounter.

About the ſame time, ſix rich ſhips, returning from *Cadiz*, were taken by the *Engliſh*, with a great quantity of ſilver. In ſhort, ſuch numbers of prizes were taken almoſt every day, that the harbours of *England* were filled with the riches of *Holland*.

Theſe loſſes and diſgraces cauſed the ſtates again to caſt their eyes upon *Tromp* as the fitteſt man to reſtore their affairs. To this the interceſſion of the king of *Denmark* and the known merits of *Tromp* may be conceived to have

have equally contributed: For that king, dreading the ſucceſſes and reſentments of the *Engliſh*, whom he had ſo lately affronted by ſeizing and confiſcating their ſhips and effects, had engaged to reinforce the fleet of the ſtates with twenty men of war, upon their paying a million of guilders, and reſtoring *Tromp* to his command.

In the beginning of *November*, the ſeaſon for action being paſt, *Blake* had, for the moſt part, ſeparated his fleet. Twenty of his ſhips he had detached to convoy a fleet of colliers from *Newcaſtle*. Twelve others were ſailed to *Plymouth*; and fifteen were gone up the river to repair the damage lately ſuſtained by ſtorm. In the mean time *Tromp*, being again reſtored to the command, was ſent with eighty-five men of war * to convoy a conſiderable fleet of merchant-ſhips through the *Channel*. But having intelligence of the weakneſs of *Blake*, who lay but with thirty-ſeven men of war beſides tenders (the *Dutch* ſay with fifty two ſhips † great and ſmall) in the *Downs*, of which (as the *Engliſh* ſay) not above twenty had their full complement on board; he took a reſolution to attack him. Upon *Tromp*'s approach a council of war being held on board *Blake*'s ſhip, it was reſolved (notwithſtanding the great inequality) not to retire, but to expect the enemy. Accordingly, *November* the 20th, the two fleets came

* Levens der Zeeheld. tweede deel, p. 100. † Id. p. 101.

came to an engagement, which laſted with great fury from one in the afternoon (not from two in the morning, as ſome *Engliſh* writers affirm) till dark night. *Blake* in the *Triumph*, with his ſeconds the *Victory* and the *Vanguard*, was (as he ſays in his letter) for a conſiderable time engaged with near twenty of the enemies, and in great danger of being oppreſſed by a force ſo much ſuperior. But being ſeaſonably relieved by *Aſcough* and others, the fight continued as furious and doubtful, as if it had been between equal parties. The *Engliſh* writers confeſs that, during the combat, the frigates of the captains *Akſon* and *Battin*, called the *Garland* and *Bonadventure*, were loſt with three others. Much the ſame account is likewiſe given by the *Dutch* hiſtorians; who relate that *Akſon* and *Battin*, having engaged to board and take *Tromp*, found him ſo well ſeconded by *Evertſon* the vice-admiral of *Zealand* and others, that after having grappled him, killed his ſecretary and his purſer next his ſide, loſt moſt of their own men, and made no ſmall ſlaughter among the *Hollanders*, they proved too weak to execute their brave deſign; the former being taken by *Tromp*, and the latter by *Evertſon*. The other three ſhips were ſunk. *Blake* forcing his way into a throng of enemies, to relieve the *Garland* and *Bonadventure*, was attacked by divers of their ſtouteſt ſhips, which likewiſe boarded him; but, they being ſeveral times beaten off,

he

he at laſt found an opportunity to rejoin his fleet.

The *Dutch* confeſs that one of their men of war was burnt towards the end of the fight, and the captain, and moſt of his men drowned; as alſo that the ſhips of *Tromp* and *Evertſon* were much diſabled.

At laſt, night having parted the two fleets, *Blake*, ſuppoſing he had ſufficiently ſecured the nation's honour and his own, by waiting the attack of an enemy ſo much ſuperior, and ſeeing no proſpect of advantage by renewing the fight, retired up the river. But Sir *George Aſcough*, who inclined to the bolder but leſs prudent counſel, was ſo diſguſted at this retreat, that he laid down his commiſſion.

This ſucceſs (which was followed by the taking of two conſiderable prizes on the coaſt) afforded no little ſubject of triumph to the *Hollanders*. The author of *Tromp's* life has taken the liberty to accuſe *Blake* of faint-heartedneſs for flying, as he termed it, from a fleet ſo much inferior to his; forgetting, it ſeems, that *Tromp*, by his own confeſſion, had almoſt two ſhips to one of the *Engliſh*. And tho' but part of the *Dutch* could come to engage (as that writer would inſinuate) yet certainly the proſpect of being expoſed to the attack of their whole fleet, the following day, was alone ſufficient to juſtify the retreat.

After

After the fight, the *Dutch*, to make the *Engliſh* ſenſible of their ſucceſs, landed a body of men in *Kent:* But theſe, being attacked by the country people, were forced to leave behind them the greateſt part of the cattle they had taken, with above an hundred of their companions, who were made priſoners.

The *Engliſh* government diſcovered their approbation of *Blake*'s conduct in the late rencounter by honourably continuing him in the command of the fleet. But having met with ſome difficulty in manning their ſhips, they publiſhed a proclamation with promiſes of conſiderable encouragement to ſuch as ſhould enter themſelves to ſerve on board the fleet within the ſpace of forty days, and of rewards to thoſe who in future engagements ſhould take or deſtroy any of the enemies ſhips. By theſe means ſuch numbers of volunteers were drawn to take ſervice, that a powerful fleet was brought to Sea in the beginning of the following year.

The *Engliſh* were no ſooner at Sea than they had an opportunity to try their valour in a more equal combat. For a great fleet of *Dutch* merchant-ſhips lying at the iſle of *Rhe*, and not daring to paſs the *Channel* without a ſufficient convoy, the enemies whole fleet of men of war conſiſting of eighty ſail, (or at leaſt of ſeventy as the *Dutch* relate it) was ſent to open them a paſſage in ſpite of the *Engliſh*. To oppoſe this

deſign

deſign, the *Engliſh* fleet of ſixty ſix ſail, under command of *Blake*, *Dean*, and *Monk*, was ſent to the weſtward, and meeting the enemies fleet in their return (being divided into four ſquadrons under *Tromp*, *De Ruyter*, *John Evertſon*, and the admiral of the *North* quarter) they came to an engagement, on the 18th of *February* 1653, at eight in the morning. The *Dutch* following their courſe up the *Channel* with the advantage of the wind (as their hiſtorians affirm) began the fight; the rather, becauſe only a part of the *Engliſh* were as yet come up. Agreeably to which, the *Engliſh* writers relate, that *Blake* and *Dean* in the *Triumph*, being advanced before the reſt of the fleet, with no more than twelve ſhips, ſuſtained a ſharp fight, near ſix hours, againſt above thirty of the enemies; till at laſt they were bravely relieved by *Lawſon*. On this occaſion, *Blake* himſelf was wounded in the thigh, his ſhip was ſo ſhattered, and his men were murdered to ſuch a degree, that the *Triumph* could have no ſhare in the victories of the following days. But when the reſt of the *Engliſh*-fleet came up, there happened the moſt furious and bloody engagement that had been ſeen, during the courſe of the war. In ſhort, the *Dutch* were preſſed ſo vigorouſly, that their own authors confeſs, that twenty-ſix of their beſt ſhips turned tail, about four o'clock, and left the reſt to the fury of the *Engliſh*: Who thereupon, (as the

beſt *Engliſh* writers relate) took or ſunk ſix or ſeven men of war, one of which was a flag-ſhip. The *Dutch* hiſtories ſpeak likewiſe of one commanded by Captain *Wighman*, which blew up, and another that was burnt. Moſt of *Tromp's* officers (as the writer of his life confeſſes) were killed in this fight, and his ſhip much diſabled, having, at the beginning, been a conſiderable time cloſely engaged with *Blake*, till ſeaſonably relieved by a ſhip that interpoſed between the two admirals. *De Ruyter*, having loſt his main-maſt and foretop-maſt, was in great danger of being taken; but was bravely relieved by *Evertſon*.

The *Engliſh*, on the contrary (according to *Blake's* letter) loſt but one ſhip (the *Sampſon*) which, being quite diſabled, they ſunk themſelves. The ſhip *Proſperous* had been taken by *De Ruyter*, after a hard fight; but, while *De Ruyter* was himſelf in danger of the ſame fate, ſhe was retaken.

The following night was ſpent in repairing the damage, and making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a ſecond engagement; which, tho' many of the *Engliſh* could not come up, was begun the next day about three leagues to the *North-Weſt* of the iſle of *Wight*. *Tromp* had rallied his fleet, and ranged it in the form of an half-moon, incloſing the merchant-ſhips within a ſemi-circle, and in that poſture he maintained a retreating fight. The *Engliſh* made

made ſeveral deſperate attacks, ſtriving to break through to the merchant-ſhips: On which occaſion, *De Ruyter*'s ſhip was again ſo roughly treated, that ſhe was tow'd out of the fleet. At laſt, the merchant-men, finding they could be no longer protected, began to ſhift for themſelves, throwing part of their goods over-board, for the greater expedition. According to *Blake*'s own letter, eight men of war, and fourteen or ſixteen merchant-ſhips were taken; and the fight continued, till night ſet bounds to the victory of the *Engliſh*.

On the third day, the *Dutch* continuing their courſe towards their own coaſt, and the *Engliſh* purſuing, the fight was renew'd with great bravery on both ſides. Three *Dutch* men of war were taken by *Lawſon*, *Marten* and *Graver*, and many merchant-men by *Pen* and others. But ammunition failing, and the *Dutch* being almoſt got within protection of their ſands, the *Engliſh* gave over the chaſe.

The author of *Tromp*'s life pretends, that the loſs of the *Hollanders*, in theſe three engagements, amounted to no more than eight men of war, and twenty-four merchant-ſhips. But the moſt moderate computation of the *Engliſh* writers makes it amount to no leſs than eleven men of war, and thirty merchant-ſhips. Nor are thoſe without good authority, who ſuppoſe it to have been greater; as may appear

from what has been obſerved. On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* loſt but one ſhip, which was ſunk by themſelves, as we related above.

This triple victory mightily daunted the enemy. Therefore, to ſupport the ſinking ſpirits of the people, the ſtates ordered ſome of their commanders to be rewarded for their bravery in the late engagements. Reports were likewiſe permitted to be ſpread, tending to extenuate the loſſes of the *Hollanders*, and to exaſperate the people againſt the *Engliſh*; yet policy was obliged ſo far to yield to juſtice, as to order the puniſhing of many of the inferior officers for ill behaviour *.

The royal exile *Charles* being in *France*, and hearing of theſe ſucceſſes of the *Engliſh*, ſent a very kind letter to the ſtates, wherein he ſaid, "That tho' he hoped the event of the late "engagements was not ſo bad, as had been "repreſented to him, yet he feared their ene-"mies had gained ſome conſiderable advan-"tage:" Concluding with an offer to ſerve in perſon on board their fleet, againſt his rebellious ſubjects.

But the ſtates, reflecting on the ill condition of their affairs, began now to turn their thoughts towards peace. Thoſe of *Holland*, which found themſelves moſt preſſed, made the firſt overture, by their agent *Dolman*; offering to pay a conſiderable ſum, and to acknow-

* Hollandſe Mercurius van het jaar, 1653, p. 44.

knowledge the *Engliſh* dominion at Sea. But the *Engliſh* refuſing to treat any otherwiſe than by writing, a letter was ſent by *Herbert van Beaumont*, ſecretary of the ſaid ſtates, teſtifying their ardent deſire of peace and a good underſtanding between the two republicks. Hereupon, the *Engliſh* government returned an anſwer, attended with a letter to the ſtates-general. In their anſwer to the ſtates of *Holland*, after having upbraided them with being the authors of a rupture, in the midſt of a treaty for a ſtrict union, they proceeded to declare, That they had done their utmoſt to obviate the ill effects of that rupture; tho' their endeavours had been ill ſeconded by the ſtates. They concluded with ſaying, That the overtures they had made might be the effectual means of compoſing the differences between the nations, if approved by the ſtates-general. In the letter to the ſtates-general (without giving them the title of *High and Mighty*, which was acquired by the late treaty with *Spain* at *Munſter*) they told them in ſhort, That as they had not been wanting at the beginning, in endeavours to prevent the enſuing calamities, ſo they were not altered by ſucceſſes from their former good intentions.

The ſtates-general, finding the neceſſity they were in of a peace, made no ſcruple of anſwering this diſreſpectful letter, but readily gave their conſent to the treaty, deſiring

that ſome neutral place and plenipotentiaries might be appointed with all ſpeed. But, before a reply could be made, a new ſcene had opened in *England.*

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, the ſtates, it ſeems, ceaſed not to carry on their intrigues, the effects of which ſoon began to appear. Knowing the ambition of the general *Cromwel* and his great intereſt in the army, 'tis ſaid, they encouraged him underhand in his deſigned innovations, promiſing greater ſums than had been offered to the rump, if he could bring about a change in the government by their diſſolution.

Theſe intrigues had the deſired ſucceſs. For, on the 20th of *April*, *Cromwel* with a party of ſoldiers entering the houſe of commons drew the ſpeaker by force out of the chair, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly. Being thus dextrouſly got rid of the rump, whoſe conduct and ſucceſſes they ſo much dreaded, the ſtates began to take new courage, and to proceed more ſlowly in their advances towards a peace. They conſidered the late violent proceedings of *Cromwel* as likely to unite the *Republican Party* with the *Royaliſts*; it being reaſonable to believe that the former would rather admit the poſterity of the late king than tamely ſubmit to an upſtart tyrant, who, without the conſent of the people, had aſſumed a more than kingly power. At leaſt, they flattered themſelves that

*Cromwel,*

*Cromwel*, the better to eſtabliſh himſelf in his newly-acquired authority, might be obliged to court their friendſhip, and grant a peace on eaſier terms. Either of theſe was ſufficient to reſtore their affairs. But *Cromwel*, whoſe politicks were no leſs refined, being ſenſible of the advantages he had above the ſtates, and depending on his intereſt in the army, took vigorous reſolutions to continue the war.

During theſe tranſactions in this part of *Europe*, an exploit was performed by the *Engliſh* in the *Streights*; which afterwards occaſioned a conſiderable loſs.

The *Engliſh* commadore *Appleton* lay (together with a *Dutch* ſquadron) in the road of *Leghorn*, being a neutral port, with ſix ſhips, mounted and manned as follows; *viz.* * The *Leopard*, commadore *Appleton*, fifty two guns, a hundred and eighty men. The *Bonadventure*, forty four guns, a hundred and fifty men. The *Sampſon*, thirty ſix guns, ninety men. The *Levant Merchant*, twenty eight guns, ſixty men. The *Pilgrim*, thirty guns, ſeventy men; and the *Mary*, thirty guns, and about ſeventy men. *Appleton* took this opportunity, with three boats manned with reſolute ſeamen, and commanded by one captain *Cox*, to execute a deſign upon the ſhip *Phœnix*, which had been taken from the *Engliſh* in the rencounter near *Elba*, and which made a part of the enemies



* Levens der Zeehelden, tweede deel p. 103.

ſquadron. This deſign was undertaken on the 26th of *November* 1652, and it ſucceeded ſo well, that the ſhip being boarded by the *Engliſh*, the *Dutch* were ſo ſurprized that they made but little reſiſtance; and the young *Tromp*, who commanded her, was forced to leap into the water, to avoid being taken. The action was performed with ſuch expedition, that, before the *Dutch* who lay next her were well apprized of what had happened, ſhe was carried off. But the great duke of *Tuſcany*, being informed of this action, and judging it to be a violation of the neutrality of that port, he ordered the *Engliſh* either to reſtore the *Phœnix*, or to depart from thence.

To depart was not without danger: For *Van Galen* with the whole ſtrength of the enemy in thoſe Seas, conſiſting of ſixteen men of war, a fire-ſhip, and ſeveral ſtout merchant-ſhips (which were offered a ſhare of the booty if they would engage) lay ready before the harbour to intercept them. Yet they rather choſe to run all hazards than to deliver up the ſhip. With this reſolution they diſpatched away advice to commadore *Bodley*, who lay at the iſland *Elba* with two men of war, a fire-ſhip, and the four merchant-ſhips which were preſent at the former engagement with *Van Galen*; and it was agreed between the two commadores, that *Bodley* with his ſmall ſquadron (tho' unfit to engage, partly on account of the loſs of men

men in the late fight, and partly on account of the merchant-ſhips under their convoy, which were laden with fifteen hundred bales of ſilk and other valuable goods) ſhould appear, about the time fixed, within ſight of *Leghorn*, to make a bravado in order to amuſe the *Dutch*, and thereby, if poſſible, to draw them off from before the harbour, and ſo to open a paſſage for *Appleton* to eſcape.

According to agreement, *Bodley*, on the 2d of *March* 1653, came within ſight of the place. On the 3d, he cauſed three or four of his beſt ſailors to approach the enemy, who were ſtationed before the port: Whereupon their whole ſquadron, as was expected, ſtood out to Sea and gave them chaſe: Which *Appleton* perceiving, he took the opportunity to come out; but too ſoon. For the *Dutch*, being aware of their deſign, immediately gave over the chaſe, and, tacking about, fell upon *Appleton*'s ſquadron with nine of their men of war, while the reſt obſerved *Bodley*.

At the firſt encounter, an unfortunate ſhot from *Van Galen*'s ſhip ſet fire to the *Bonadventure*, which blew up, tho' not unrevenged: For at the ſame time, a ſhot from that ſhip broke *Van Galen*'s leg, of which hurt he ſoon after died. In the mean while, *Appleton* was attack'd by two of the *Hollanders* at once; againſt whom he maintained a cloſe fight of four or five hours, with ſuch reſolution, that both the *Dutch* ſhips were

were ſo diſabled that they ſcarce fired a ſhot *. *Van Galen* ſeeing the reſolution of the *Engliſh* commadore, and going (tho' deſperately wounded) to the aſſiſtance of his friends, was in great danger by a fire-ſhip ſent off from *Bodley*'s ſquadron. But, another ſhip coming to the aſſiſtance of the *Hollanders* who were engaged with *Appleton*, they renewed the attack with greater vigour. Some *Dutch* writers report, that *Appleton* finding himſelf oppreſſed by ſuch unequal numbers, after having made all poſſible reſiſtance, ran down and would have blown up his ſhip; but that, being hindered by his ſeamen, he was obliged to yield. The young *Tromp*, attacking the *Sampſon*, was beaten off after a deſperate fight: But the *Sampſon* was ſoon after burnt by a fire-ſhip. The *Levant Merchant*, being encountered by one of the enemy's ſhips, beat her off and ſtranded her. But being at laſt taken, together with the *Pilgrim* (which had loſt her main and mizzen maſts in the fight) the *Mary*, thus left alone, made her eſcape and joined the neareſt ſhips of *Bodley*'s ſquadron: Which put an end to the engagement.

But to come nearer home. The ſtates, finding themſelves deceived in their expectation of great advantages from the late change of government in *England*, omitted nothing to put themſelves into a condition to carry on the

* Levens der Zeehelden, tweede deel, p. 103.

the war. They firſt made a freſh enquiry into the merits of their officers in the former actions; ſome of which were rewarded for their good ſervices, but more were puniſhed for ill behaviour.

In the mean time, the *Engliſh*, being firſt ready, appeared on the coaſt of *Holland*, chaſing admiral *Evertſon* with the *Zealand* ſquadron into the *Veerſe-gat*, and taking about fifty buſſes belonging to *Zurik-zee*. Afterwards ſailing with a *South-weſt* wind, they alarm'd the whole coaſt, and took many others belonging to *Maaſland-ſluys*, *Ter-heyde*, *Schevolingen*, *Catwyk* and other places.

*Tromp*, having lain ſome time before the *Texel* with the greateſt part of the *Dutch* fleet, received orders to convoy a fleet of merchant-ſhips round the *North* of *Scotland*; the ſtates being unwilling to venture another voyage through the *Channel*. On this occaſion, he was very fortunate: For the evening after he ſailed, the *Engliſh* fleet came and anchored where he had lain. But not finding him, and underſtanding that he was gone to the *Northward*, they purſued him as far as *Aberdeen* in *Scotland*; but, not coming up with him, they returned to the coaſt of *Holland*.

While they lay before the *Texel*, a deſign was formed upon a conſiderable fleet of *Dutch* merchant-ſhips in the *Vlie*; to execute which ſeveral light frigates were ſent in: But the enemy

enemy being ſtronger and in better poſture than was ſuppoſed, they returned without attempting any thing; and the fleet ſailed again in queſt of *Tromp.*

At laſt, *Tromp* having executed his commiſſion, and twice eſcaped the purſuit of the *Engliſh*, returned and joined the reſt of the *Dutch* fleet. He thereupon ſailed, in a bravado, to the coaſt of *England*, which he inſulted in his turn. While the *Engliſh* were ſeeking him again to the *Northward*, he cannonaded the town of *Dover*, and took two or three inconſiderable prizes in the *Downs*. But it was not long e're the *Engliſh* returned and attack'd him, firſt on the coaſt of *England*, and the following day off *Newport* in *Flanders*.

On the 1ſt of *June*, while the *Engliſh* fleet was lying at anchor in *Yarmouth-road*, under command of *Monk* and *Dean*, joined in commiſſion, advice was brought, that the *Dutch*, commanded by *Tromp*, *De Ruyter*, *De Witte* and *Evertſon*, were ſeen upon the coaſt: Whereupon, the fleet weighed, and ſtood towards the enemy. On the 3d, the fight begun between eleven and twelve at noon, off the *South* point of the *Gober*. The *Engliſh*, who were the aggreſſors, had ninety-five ſail of men of war *, and five fire-ſhips: And the *Dutch* had ninety-eight men of war, and ſix fire-ſhips. The *Engliſh* blue ſquadron charging through

* Levens der Zeehelden, tweede deel. p. 112.

through the enemies, *De Ruyter*'s diviſion ſuffered much, and himſelf was in great danger of being taken or ſunk by *Lawſon*, till relieved by *Tromp*: But *Lawſon* ſoon after ſunk a man of war of forty-two guns, commanded by captain *Bulter*. An unfortunate ſhot, in the beginning of the engagement, took off the *Engliſh* admiral *Dean*; but *Monk*, who was in the ſame ſhip, covering his body with his cloak, and encouraging his men, the battle continued with great fury till three o'clock, when the enemy began to hold off, and maintain a ſort of running fight, which laſted till nine in the evening; about which time one of the *Dutch* men of war, commanded by *Cornelius van Velſen*, blew up. Upon this occaſion, the *Dutch* hiſtorians complain, that ſeveral of their captains were deficient in their duty. The enemy retreating towards the coaſt of *Flanders*, the fight was renewed the next day about noon off *Newport*, with ſuch fury, that, after a diſpute of four hours, they were entirely defeated. Admiral *Blake*, who joined the fleet the night before with ſome ſhips, had a ſhare in the honour of this ſecond victory. During the engagement, *Tromp*, having boarded the vice-admiral *Pen*, was beaten off; and, being boarded in his turn, was forced to blow up his deck, of which the *Engliſh* had made themſelves maſters. But, being again entered by *Pen* and another at once, he would have been in extreme danger of being

ing taken or ruined, if not ſeaſonably relieved by *De Witte* and *De Ruyter* †. The enemies were at laſt ſo vigorouſly preſs'd, that they fell into great diſorder, and, after the loſs of many ſhips, were forced to ſave themſelves by flight among the flats on the ſide of *Newport*; from whence they afterwards eſcaped to *Zealand*.

The *Engliſh* writers affirm, that, in this latter fight, the *Dutch* had ſix of their beſt ſhips ſunk, two blown up, and eleven taken, with fifteen hundred and fifty priſoners, whereof ſix were captains of note; and that of the ſhips which were taken or deſtroyed, one was a vice-admiral, and two were rear-admirals. But the *Dutch* hiſtories confeſs the loſs of but ſeven or eight men of war.

On the ſide of the *Engliſh*, the only conſiderable loſs was that of the admiral *Dean*; not one ſhip being miſſing, and but very few men killed, among which was one captain. This appears not only from the concurrent teſtimonies of the *Engliſh* writers, but from the expreſs words of the proclamation for a thankſgiving, which was publiſhed on this occaſion.

Whatever induſtry was uſed to conceal or extenuate theſe or the former loſſes of the *Hollanders*, yet they appeared but too plainly by the complaints and remonſtrances of their own

† Vid. Leven van Tromp.

own admirals. *Tromp* declared to the commiſſioners of the ſtates at *Fluſhing*, That, without a conſiderable reinforcement of large men of war, they could do no farther ſervice. And the vice-admiral *De Witte* is reported to have ſaid in preſence of the ſtates *, *Why ſhould I be ſilent? I may, and muſt ſay it; The* Engliſh *are maſters of us, and by conſequence of the Sea.*

Nor were their complaints for want of good ſhips without ſufficient cauſe. For notwithſtanding that many ſtout ſhips had been lately built, yet ſo many had either been loſt or diſabled, that tho' the *Dutch* fleet could ſtill equal the *Engliſh* in number, it fell far ſhort in bigneſs and goodneſs of ſhips.

Upon the news of theſe defeats, *Holland* was in an uproar. The city of *Enkhuyſen* eſpecially, whoſe herring-fiſhery had been ruined, was all tumult and confuſion. In the mean time, the *Engliſh*, having ſent away their prizes and priſoners, rid in triumph before the *Dutch* harbours; taking no leſs than twenty rich ſhips at the mouth of the *Texel*: Inſomuch that the fleets deſigned for the *Baltick* and the *Eaſt-Indies* were detained in port, to the great damage and diſſatisfaction of the merchants.

The ſtates hereupon renewed their endeavours for a peace; ſending with all ſpeed a veſſel with a white flag and a meſſenger, to prepare

* Leven van Tromp.

prepare the way for four embaſſadors, viz. the *Heeren van Beverning, Nieuwpoort, Van der Perre,* and *Jonſtal.* But the overtures of thoſe embaſſadors were ſcornfully rejected, and twenty ſeven articles inſiſted on as conditions of peace, ſome of which we ſhall mention anon.

Being therefore unable to find the period of their misfortunes by treaty, the ſtates were again obliged to ſeek it by arms. For which purpoſe, all engines were ſet at work. Fear was moved by puniſhments, and hope was excited by promiſes of rewards. Religion was called in to the aſſiſtance of the paſſions; and the famous preacher *Junius* was ſent on board the fleet to exhort the ſeamen, from ſhip to ſhip, to do their utmoſt in this imminent danger of their country. But the diſcontents and diſturbances among the people, who began to be weary of the government, and to cry out for the prince of *Orange,* brought the ſtates into no ſmall perplexities. Above all others, thoſe of the *Hague* were zealous for declaring that young prince ſtadt-holder: On which occaſion theſe verſes were handed about.

*Gallia perpeſſa eſt quondam mala plurima ab Anglis;*
*Plurima ab his Batavi nunc quoque damna ferunt.*
*Aureliam Galli poſt oppoſuere Puellam,*
*Auriacum Batavi opponite nunc Puerum.*
*Qui quondam expulſi pugnante fuere Puella,*
*Hos Puero duce non pellere nunc pudeat.*

Which

Which may be thus rendered in *Engliſh.*

bow;
*France* ſuffer'd much by *England*'s conqu'ring
Now *Engliſh* arms are *Holland*'s overthrow.
For *France* the maid of *Orleans* aroſe.
For Us the *Orange* youth ſhall face the foes.
Foes who were foil'd by a weak *Female* hand,
Led by a *Youth*, we'll force to leave our ſtrand.

The ſtates, to prevent the moſt fatal conſequences, took all poſſible care to refit their ſhattered ſquadrons, and reinforce them with a new ſquadron; but they found ſome difficulty to join them. At laſt *Tromp* who with the remains of the fleet (conſiſting of eighty odd men of war and fire-ſhips) had ſaved himſelf in *Zealand*, ventured to ſail with deſign to join *De Witte*, who lay in the *Texel* with that new ſquadron conſiſting of twenty-five men of war, fitted out to repair the loſs ſuſtained in the late engagements. The *Engliſh* fleet, which lay ready to oppoſe their conjunction, conſiſted of an hundred and ſix ſail, great and ſmall, and was commanded by *Monk*, *Pen*, and *Lawſon*.

*Tromp*, whoſe intention it was to draw off the *Engliſh* from before the *Texel*, and thereby to give opportunity to *De Witte* to come out and join him, did his utmoſt, when diſcovered, to decline an engagement. But ſome nimble frigates of the *Engliſh*, by attacking his rear,

on the 27th of *July*, obliged him, about ſix in the evening, to hazard a ſort of running fight. The next day, the hard wind prevented the renewal of the fight; which was no ſmall advantage to the *Hollanders*: For the *Engliſh* purſuing without being able to engage them, *De Witte* found an opportunity to put to Sea from the *Texel*, and to join the reſt of the fleet. The fight was renewed by the *Engliſh* on the 29th with extraordinary fury. For *Monk* being willing to put an end to the war, and loath to weaken his fleet by manning the prizes and ſending off other ſhips with them to the next harbours (as uſual,) gave orders that no ſhips ſhould be taken, and that no quarter ſhould be either taken or given, except to the chief officers: So that, in a ſhort time, the Sea was covered with the blood of the ſlain. Here one might have ſeen a lively repreſentation of the laſt day. The mixture of fire and water and ſmoak reſembled the confuſion or blending together of the elements; while the noiſe of the cannon and ſmall arms, with the flaſhes of powder and the blaze of burning ſhips imitated thunder, lightning, and a general conflagration. *Lawſon*, who had again a cloſe engagement with *De Ruyter*, killed and wounded above half his men, * and ſhot down his fore-maſt and main-top-maſt; ſo that, had he not been relieved, he would probably have been

* Leven van Tromp. p. 111.

been deſtroyed. *De Ruyter*'s ſhip was ſo diſabled that ſhe was tow'd into the *Maaſe*; but he himſelf came again with a galliot into the fleet. The *Dutch* rear-admiral *Floris*'s ſhip, being quite diſabled, was taken, and afterwards ſunk. The vice-admiral *De Witte*, and captain *Cornelius Evertſon* (brother of the vice-admiral of that name) behaved themſelves bravely; endeavouring ſeveral times to board the admiral *Monk*: But *Evertſon*'s ſhip was ſunk, and himſelf taken. The ſhip of the vice-admiral, his brother, being horribly ſhatter'd, was towed out of the fight. But the loſs, which by its importance made all others ſeem inconſiderable, was that of the admiral *Tromp*: Who in the heat of the fight received a wound, by a musket-ſhot, from an *Engliſh* frigate, near the left pap, of which he immediately died. He was a perſon of tried courage, and great experience in Sea-affairs. From being cabbin-boy to an *Engliſh* pirate (who had killed his father, and taken a *Dutch* man of war of which he was captain) his extraordinary merit had raiſed him to the higheſt command in the fleet. He died eſteemed by his enemies, and infinitely beloved and lamented by his country, to which his loſs, at this conjuncture, might have proved fatal.

By the death of *Tromp*, the *Dutch* fleet became as a body without a ſoul. Some, as deprived of all skill or power to defend themſelves,

ſelves, ſought their ſafety in their ſails. Others, who ſtill faced the *Engliſh*, made ſuch faint reſiſtance, as ſerved only to render the victory the more complete. Their own hiſtorians complain, that about thirty of their beſt ſhips went off at once, and deſerted their companions; which were ſoon obliged to follow.

In this cruel fight the *Engliſh* agree, that the *Hollanders* loſt between twenty and thirty men of war, ſunk or burnt, and five or ſix thouſand men. The *Dutch* author of *Tromp*'s life, on the contrary, gives a liſt but of nine ſhips, which he owns were loſt. But the vice-admiral *De Witte* (who took upon him the command, after the death of *Tromp*) ſays, in his letter to the ſtates, that twelve or fourteen ſhips were miſſing, and among them two vice-admirals, without mentioning any loſs on the ſide of the *Engliſh*. Yet the *Engliſh* confeſs the loſs of two ſhips, the *Worceſter* and the *Oak*. The *Worceſter*, they ſay, having boarded the *Roozekrans* or *Garland* frigate (formerly taken by the *Dutch*) was burnt, together with her enemy. The *Oak* was likewiſe burnt, but the men were ſaved. The *Triumph* and the *Andrew*, being grappled and fired, they confeſs, ſuffered great damage in ſails and rigging; but, by the induſtry of the ſeamen, they were preſerved. Their loſs in men, is ſaid to have amounted to about

about four hundred killed and drowned, and ſeven hundred wounded; eight captains being among the former, and five among the latter.

Tho' the *Engliſh* carried off no ſhips, yet it ſeems they ſo generouſly aſſiſted their enemies in diſtreſs, that they ſaved about twelve hundred men of the ſhips that were ſunk, notwithſtanding the forbidding of quarter. But prejudice caſts a wrong colour on the beſt actions. The *Dutch Mercury*, for the year 1653, informs us, that the *Engliſh* were indeed very careful to ſave the *Hollanders*, whoſe ſhips were loſt; but that it was for no other reaſon, than that they might ſerve as ſo many tokens of their victory. And, as if to overlook a virtue was not ſufficient, without finding a vice, that author adds, that they, at the ſame time, inhumanly ſuffered their own people to periſh, leſt by ſaving them they ſhould have made known their loſs of ſhips.

The enemies fled in all haſte within their ſands, where they could not be followed: In which ſituation having ſtaid ſome while to make a ſhew of expecting the *Engliſh*, they afterwards retired into the *Texel*. *De Witte* ſent from thence the aforementioned letter to the ſtates, wherein having given ſome account of their loſs, he informed them, that the reaſon, why he retired with ſo much haſte, was be-

cauſe ſo many of the ſhips that remained had ſuffered great damage, and becauſe there were many *Poltrons* (as he expreſſed it) in the fleet, who left others in diſtreſs. From this letter it appears, beyond contradiction, with how little reaſon ſome *Dutch* writers have boaſted, that their fleet had driven the *Engliſh* from their coaſt.

Upon the news of this ſignal victory, a day of general thankſgiving was appointed in *England*, and a narrative of the fight ordained to be read in the churches. Several chains and medals of gold were given to *Monk*, *Pen*, *Lawſon*, and others for their great ſervices on this and other occaſions. Silver medals were likewiſe diſtributed among the inferior officers, and money among the ſeamen. *Cromwel* himſelf put the chain about *Monk*'s neck, and, inviting him to a magnificent dinner, made him wear it while he ſate at table.

Such unuſual favours argue the merit of that admiral, upon this occaſion, to have been more than common. And indeed, that *Monk* had not been an idle ſpectator of the combat, may appear from the letter he writ to the council of ſtate; wherein he informed them, that of five *Dutch* admirals he had himſelf the fortune to ſhoot down the flags of three, *viz.* (as the *Dutch Mercury* for that year confeſſes) thoſe of *Tromp*, *Evertſon*, and *De Ruyter*; with whom and others he had been ſo long and

ſo

ſo deeply engaged, that towards the end of the fight he was towed out of the fleet.

This was the laſt conſiderable action of the year 1653; a year which three general engagements (in which the *Engliſh* gained no leſs than ſix victories) have rendered as remarkable as any in the *Engliſh Annals*.

Such a load of misfortunes had ſo broken the force, and ſunk the ſpirits of the *Dutch* nation, that, if the war had continued, 'twas believed, there would ſcarcely have been either ſhips to man, or men to fight. The Sea was poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh* fleets, and nothing but their ſands protected their harbours. The populace were tumultuous, the publick placards diſregarded, and the ſtates themſelves, of whoſe wiſdom or integrity their ill ſucceſs had produced a very mean opinion, were threatened with plundering. In ſhort, every thing ſeemed to tend to a revolution.

Yet, partly to ſatisfy the repeated complaints of the merchants, partly to let the world ſee they had ſtill ſomething like a fleet, the ſtates (taking their opportunity, while the *Engliſh* were gone to land the priſoners and wounded) ſent orders to *De Witte* to convoy a conſiderable fleet of merchant-ſhips, with about fifty men of war, and fire-ſhips, to the *Sound*. *De Witte* had the good fortune to paſs by the *Engliſh*, who, unknown to the *Dutch*, returning

a day or two before, had poſted themſelves near the *Dogger-ſand*. But the *Engliſh* ſoon after, coming before the *Vlie*, fell in with another fleet of merchant-men, of which they took about thirty. In the mean time, *Lawſon*, being ſent with a ſquadron to the *Northern*-coaſt of *Scotland*, took a conſiderable number of herring-buſſes, together with four frigates which guarded them, and diſpers'd the reſt.

This proved the laſt action of the war; but not the laſt misfortune of the *Dutch*. For the admiral *De Witte*, returning from convoying the merchant-fleet, ſuffered very much before the *Texel* by a violent tempeſt, wherein twelve or thirteen of his men of war periſhed. But the *Engliſh*, having received ſome damage by a leſſer ſtorm, were very ſeaſonably returned, a little before, to their own coaſt.

In this deplorable ſtate, it was, however, the good fortune of the *Dutch*, as it has ſometimes been of their country, to be ſaved by their moſt dangerous enemy. For as the Sea, which ſo frequently threatens *Holland* with deſtruction, has ſometimes been made its beſt defence, ſo *Cromwel*, who had ſo terribly endangered the *Dutch*-republick, was at laſt, to the ſurprize of all the world, induced to be its deliverer. For tho' his council of ſtate had impoſed ſevere conditions of peace (beſides the demand of ſatisfaction for wrongs in *Eaſt-India*, and elſewhere) yet the ambition and ſelf-intereſt

of

of *Cromwel*, who ſought to enrich himſelf at the expence of the nation, and to eſtabliſh his newly-acquired authority by a defenſive league with the *Loeveſtein-faction* (who at this time governed *Holland*, and who being enemies to the houſe of *Orange*, and conſequently to the royal family of *England*, were engaged in the ſame intereſt with himſelf) diſpoſed him to grant them a peace upon eaſier terms. With this view, he firſt diſmiſs'd his ſham-parliament, and then, having aſſumed the title of *Protector*, he began to treat with the *Dutch* commiſſioners in his own name. In ſhort, the bargain was ſoon made, and the treaty of peace ſigned, *April* 5, 1654.

In this treaty, ſome of the chief demands of the council of ſtate (which were part of the twenty-ſeven articles formerly inſiſted on) were omitted: Such were, the coalition with *England*; the annual rent of the fiſhery on the *Britiſh*-coaſt; the right of ſearching the *Dutch* ſhips; the right of limiting the number of their men of war, and a free trade upon the *Scheld*.

The moſt material of the conditions agreed upon were, the delivering up of ſuch as could be found of the murtherers at *Amboina* to juſtice; their acknowledging of the *Engliſh* dominion at Sea, by ſtriking to the flag; their ſubmitting to the *Act of Navigation*, notwithſtanding that their refuſal to ſubmit to it was one

one principal cauſe of their engaging in the war; as alſo the excluding of the houſe of *Orange* for ever from the offices of ſtadt-holder and admiral of *Holland*. To theſe *Monſieur de Neufville*, in his *Hiſtory of Holland*, adds the payment of great ſums for reparation of damages, and a promiſe of procuring the reſtitution of the *Engliſh* ſhips and effects ſeized by the king of *Denmark*, or at leaſt of giving an equivalent, on condition that that king ſhould be included in the treaty. But in the affair of *Amboina* nothing was ever done.

Thus ended the moſt vigorous war that ever was maintained at Sea. 'Twas begun and finiſhed in the ſhort ſpace of one year and eleven months: Yet in that time the *Engliſh* took no leſs than ſeventeen hundred prizes, valued by the *Dutch* themſelves at ſixty two millions of guilders, or near ſix millions of pounds ſterling. On the contrary, thoſe taken by the *Dutch* could not amount to the fourth part, either in number or value. Within that time the *Engliſh* were victorious in no leſs than five general fights, ſome of which were of ſeveral days: Whereas the *Hollanders* cannot juſtly boaſt of having gained one. For the action between *De Ruyter* and *Aſcough*, in which they pretended to ſome advantage, was no general fight: And the advantage gained by *Tromp* in the *Downs* is owned

ed to have been gained but over a part of the *Engliſh*-fleet. 'Twas this ſhort quarrel which (by the confeſſion of * *Valkenier*) reduced the *Dutch* to greater extremities than the long war of eighty years had done againſt the crown of *Spain*. And the author of the † *Intereſt of Holland* computes that in this ſhort war, and in the time of the *Northern* troubles which followed between the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, his country-men loſt more than they had gained in twenty years before.

Tho' the *Hollanders* procured a peace for their ally the king of *Denmark*, on condition of making the ſatisfaction mentioned above, yet the *French* (notwithſtanding that they had been very favourable to the intereſt of *Holland*, during the war) were not included in this treaty, any more than in the former treaty at *Munſter*.

How inconſiderable the *French* were in thoſe times for naval skill, may appear from an encounter which is ſaid to have happened *October* 16. 1653, between captain *Hayton* of the *Saphire* and eight *French* men of war. Captain *Hayton*, coming up with their admiral, ſhot twice at his flag, who thereupon returned him a broad-ſide; but, perceiving the *Engliſh* were ready to board him, he got away. The captain with his ſingle ſhip engaged

* Verwerd Europa, p. 122.
† Intereſt van Holland, p. 34.

gaged the reſt, of which he took three, with the loſs of only four men killed and a few more wounded. I ſhould not have mentioned this deed of chivalry, had it not been ſupported by ſo good authority as that of Mr. *Whitlock.* *

The peace with *France* followed in the year 1655: To obtain which, the *French* were obliged to grant the *Engliſh* a very advantageous treaty of commerce, and to refuſe their protection to the royal family of *England.*

Having thus finiſhed a war againſt the three moſt powerful ſtates in the world at Sea, it was not long 'ere the *Engliſh* commanders had opportunity to ſignalize themſelves againſt another enemy. For peace was no ſooner reſtored than *Cromwel* began a war with *Spain.* The pretended reaſons were partly ſome late affronts and cruelties exerciſed upon the *Engliſh* in the *Weſt-Indies,* and partly the unchriſtian ſeverities of the *Inquiſition.* But the true motives are conceived to have been chiefly the uſurper's deſign to get rid of ſome of the military men, whoſe ſwords finding no employment at home, he feared might turn againſt himſelf; and likewiſe his deſire to furniſh his treaſury with the riches of *Spain,* that he might be the better able to pay ſuch other troops as he was obliged to maintain. Be that as it will, 'tis certain that this

* Memoirs Fol. 547.

this project of *Cromwel*, how ſucceſsful ſoever, proved in ſome reſpect a detriment to the *Engliſh* nation. For, by engaging in the war, the *Engliſh*, who had enjoyed a very profitable commerce with *Spain* about fifty years, parted with it for ſome time, and (as it were) beſtowed it on the *Hollanders*, who, ſince the peace of *Munſter*, Anno 1648, were become their rivals in that trade.

This war commenced *Anno* 1655, with an expedition to *Hiſpaniola*, a rich iſland in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. The fleet was commanded by vice-admiral *Pen*, and the troops, which conſiſted of ſeveral thouſand men, by colonel *Venables*. On the 28th of *January*, *Pen* arrived at *Barbadoes*, where he ſeized eighteen *Dutch* merchant-ſhips, which, in defiance of the late *Act of Navigation*, had preſumed to trade in thoſe parts. The army was there reinforced with ſeveral hundreds of men, who were raiſed in that and the neighbouring iſlands. On the 13th of *March*, *Pen* ſet ſail for *Hiſpaniola*, where being arrived, the troops (which were found to be but ill provided with arms and ammunition) were landed at about ten *Engliſh* miles diſtance from *St. Domingo*, the place which they deſigned firſt to attack: So that, by marching in that hot climate through the deep ſands, ſome of them were ſo overcome with heat and thirſt that they died outright, and the reſt were ſo faint

faint and fatigued, that they were not in a condition to reſiſt, much leſs to attack the enemy. For, being charged by a ſmall body of *Spaniſh* horſe, ſeveral hundreds of their van were ſlaughtered, almoſt without fighting; but, upon the coming up of their main body, the *Spaniards* retired. The deſign of attacking *St. Domingo* was hereupon laid aſide, and, the troops being re-imbarqued, the fleet ſailed for *Jamaica*, where they met with better ſucceſs; for, being landed, they ſoon made themſelves maſters of that noble iſland, with very little oppoſition. And tho' the *Spaniards* made ſeveral attempts to regain it, by landing with ſome thouſands of men; yet they could never get any firm footing there, but were always repulſed with conſiderable loſs.

The following year, admiral *Montague* (afterwards earl of *Sandwich*) cruiſing off *Cadiz* with three men of war met and attack'd ſeven *Spaniſh* galleons, as they were returning from *America*. Of theſe one was ſunk, one burnt, two ſtranded, as many taken, and only one eſcaped to *Cadiz* together with a prize which they had taken in their paſſage from the *Portugueſe*. The riches on board the ſhips that were taken were ſaid to amount to two or three millions of pieces of eight. This action is immortalized by the celebrated pen of Mr. *Waller*.

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In the mean time, *Blake*, who had been ſent with a ſquadron of men of war into the *Streights*, ſpread the terror of the *Engliſh* Sea-forces over all thoſe parts. If we may credit *Signior Leti*, in his account of the life of *Cromwel*, the pope himſelf, upon the *Engliſh* ſquadron's approaching the coaſt of *Italy*, was ſeized with ſuch a pannick fear, that he did not think himſelf ſafe, even at *Rome*. But *Blake*'s commiſſion did not regard the pope, but another enemy. For, ſailing to the coaſt of *Africa*, he ſent to the *Dey* of *Tunis* to demand the releaſe of all the *Engliſh* ſlaves, as alſo ſatisfaction for the ſhips that had been taken by the *Corſairs* of that place, during the time of our civil wars. But, receiving a very inſolent anſwer from the *Dey*, a council of war was called, wherein it was reſolved, to attempt the deſtroying nine of the *Mooriſh* frigates, which lay in *Porto Ferino*. This was a work of great difficulty. For batteries were raiſed along the ſhoar, planted with an hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, and the harbour was defended by a fort with twenty pieces, beſides ſeveral other leſſer forts well provided with cannon and ſmall arms. But the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral, caſting anchor within musket-ſhot of the main fort, and firing whole broad-ſides on the enemy's forts and batteries, while the other men of war brought on the fire-ſhips and ſloops, the

the deſign was executed with ſuch courage and ſucceſs, that, within the ſpace of four hours, all the *Mooriſh* ſhips were burnt down to the water, notwithſtanding the great fire of the enemy; with the loſs of no more than twenty five men killed and forty eight wounded. Upon which the *Dey* was diſpoſed to ſeek the friendſhip of *England*, and to releaſe not only the *Engliſh*, but ſeveral *Dutch* ſlaves, for very moderate ranſoms.

*Blake*, being returned from the *Streights*, was not ſuffered to be long without employment. For, in the year 1657, he was ſent with a ſquadron to intercept the *Spaniſh* galleons. Being arrived at the haven of *Santa Cruz* in the iſland *Teneriff*, he found ſixteen large ſhips at anchor under the protection of ſeveral forts and batteries; among which were five or ſix great galleons, all richly laden. Theſe he attack'd with ſuch reſolution, that in leſs than four hours they were taken, and (becauſe they could not be carried off) burnt, to the unſpeakable damage and terror of the *Spaniſh* nation. For which ſervice *Cromwel*'s parliament ordered *Blake* a letter of thanks and a diamond ring, valued at five hundred pounds. But, as he was returning in triumph from the deſtruction of the galleons, this victorious admiral died near the harbour of *Plymouth*. As he died on the *Sea*, which, during his life-time, he had made the theatre of

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ſo many noble actions, ſo being brought to *Greenwich*, he was carried with great pomp and ſolemnity by *Water* to *Weſtminſter*, where he had the higheſt honour a ſubject is capable of, by being interred among the kings in the famous chapel of king *Henry* VII.

While the *Engliſh* fleets were every-where ſucceſsful, the land-forces were no leſs victorious by the defeat of the *Spaniſh* army before *Dunkirk*, and by the taking of that city and *Mardyke*. But the joy for theſe ſucceſſes was moderated by conſiderable damages ſuſtained from the privateers of *Oſtend*, *Biſcay*, and others: And while the *Engliſh*, upon the ballance of accompts, won (for the preſent) little elſe but honour, their neighbours the *Dutch* were driving a moſt beneficial trade with the *Spaniards*; by which they had opportunity not only to recruit their great loſſes in the late war, but to put themſelves into a condition more powerfully to diſpute with *England* the ſovereignty of the Seas.

After the death of *Blake*, admiral *Mountague* was ſent with a ſquadron of twelve men of war to the *Sound*, to promote a peace between the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and to obſerve the *Dutch*, who were gone to the aſſiſtance of the latter. But hearing of the death of *Cromwel*, and the general diſpoſition in *England* to reſtore the royal family, he ſuddenly returned, on pretence of want of proviſions, to

aſſiſt in the intended revolution. Upon his arrival, he was, by *Monk*'s advice, ſent to take charge of the fleet; and, being well received by vice-admiral *Lawſon*, he diſpoſed him and the other officers to ſubmit to the determination of the next full parliament; which parliament voted the king's reſtoration.

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## CHAP. V.

### *An Account of the* Engliſh Naval-Affairs, *from the* Reſtoration *to the* Revolution.

SOON after the *Reſtoration*, admiral *Mountague* (newly created earl of *Sandwich*) and *Lawſon* (lately knighted) were ſent with eighteen men of war and two fire-ſhips to *Algiers*, to reduce thoſe pirates to reaſon, who, taking the occaſion of our civil diſſenſions, had lately committed ſeveral inſolencies. Being arrived before the place, they immediately entered into a treaty with the regency; but the *Barbarians* ſoon broke it off, refuſing to agree to the firſt point propoſed, which was, That the *Engliſh* ſhips ſhould not for the future be liable to

to be ſearched, on any pretence whatſoever; and having rudely diſmiſs'd the *Engliſh* commiſſioners, they gave fire on the fleet. Nor could the *Engliſh*, at that time, ſufficiently revenge the affront. Hereupon, the earl of *Sandwich*, returning, left Sir *John Lawſon* with ten ſhips before *Algiers:* But the *Barbarians* ſtill remaining obſtinate, and the *Engliſh* ſquadron wanting the means to force them, no peace could be concluded till the year 1662.

But this peace being no ſooner made than broken by the faithleſs *Barbarians*, Sir *John Lawſon* (who had likewiſe concluded a peace with *Tunis* and *Tripoli*) received orders to demand ſatisfaction for the damage ſuſtained. Accordingly he went with ſeven ſhips, and, after ſome diſpute, procured the releaſe of the men and veſſels that had been taken; but the *Infidels* refuſing to reſtore the goods, the treaty ended in a formal declaration of war.

As Sir *John Lawſon* was returning from *Algiers* towards the coaſt of *Spain*, he chanced to meet the *Dutch* admiral *De Ruyter*, who ſaluted him with his cannon and ſtriking of his flag; and *Lawſon* anſwered his civility with his cannon, but without ſtriking. This gave ſome diſcontent to the *Hollanders*, who, having ſubmitted ſo far as to ſtrike firſt, had, it ſeems, expected that the *Engliſh* ſhould have ſtruck too. But *Lawſon* excuſed himſelf to *De*

by informing him, that he had expreſs orders not to ſtrike to any king, prince, or ſtate whatſoever. On this occaſion 'tis remarkable, that tho' the tenth article of the treaty concluded between king *Charles* and the ſtates, *Anno* 1662, only obliged the *Hollanders* to ſtrike to the king's men of war within the *Britiſh* Seas, yet they choſe to ſhew the ſame civility and ſubjection in all other Seas; that ſo the *Engliſh* might not, from their practice, pretend to any more ſovereignty over the *Britiſh* Seas, than over others.

*De Ruyter*, being diſſatisfied with this treatment, had, it ſeems, taken the reſolution not to ſtrike firſt, in caſe of another meeting with *Lawſon*. But a letter being diſpatched to the penſioner *De Wit* by the ſtates-deputy *Mortaigne* (who was then on board *De Ruyter's* ſhip) an anſwer was returned with orders to ſtrike as uſual, if they met again; but however to avoid the *Engliſh* as much as poſſible.

The war with the *Algerines* continuing, vice-admiral *Lawſon* received orders, in the beginning of the year 1663, to renew his endeavours for a peace. But the *Barbarians* being obſtinate in refuſing all reparation of damages ſince the laſt rupture, this negotiation, like the former, paſſed without effect.

This ſame year, the ſtates (as appears by king *Charles's* declaration of war, dated *Feb.* 24. 1665) did, by their ambaſſadors, deſire of the court

court of *England*, that Sir *John Lawſon*, with his ſquadron, might act in concert with *De Ruyter* againſt the pirates of *Algiers*. But notwithſtanding this, *De Ruyter* ſoon after receiving ſecret orders to ſail to *Guinea*, (on a certain deſign, which we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention) deſerted *Lawſon*: Upon which, *Lawſon* returned home with the news of this conduct of *De Ruyter*, leaving Sir *Thomas Allen* with twelve ſhips of his ſquadron; who afterwards, by the force of his cannon, brought the government of *Algiers* to reaſon.

The king, upon his reſtoration, purſuing the true intereſt of his people, did divers things tending to the encouragement of commerce, and the fiſhery. A treaty of peace and commerce was concluded with *Spain*; which left the *Engliſh* in poſſeſſion of *Jamaica*, and reſtored to them a moſt beneficial trade. A treaty was concluded with *Holland*, by which divers points were ſettled, ſome tending to the honour, and others to the advantage of the nation. The *Act of Navigation* was confirmed in part; and a proclamation was iſſued, prohibiting all foreigners to fiſh within ten leagues of the *Britiſh* coaſt. But the nation had no ſooner begun to reap the fruits of a ſettled peace and a flouriſhing trade, than they were again alarmed by the proſpect of an approaching war. Great complaints were made by almoſt all the trading

companies in *England* of new damages and affronts ſuſtained from the *Dutch Eaſt* and *Weſt-India Companies*. The particulars of which (according to the printed complaints of the companies, and the king's own letter to the ſtates-general, dated *Octob.* 4. 1666.) were the ſeizure of ſeveral ſhips, the hindering others from trading to places, where the *Engliſh* had factories, on frivolous pretences, the detaining of *Cape-Corſe Caſtle* on the coaſt of *Africa*, as alſo of the iſland *Pooleroon* contrary to treaty, and the ſhooting at the *Engliſh* flag.

Theſe loſſes and indignities, joined with ſuch others of a more ancient date, for which his late royal father could never obtain that ſatisfaction which *Cromwel* had afterwards in his power but neglected to procure, induced the king, at laſt, to demand ſatisfaction by his ambaſſador at the *Hague*. But this the penſioner *De Wit* and the *Loeveſtein Party* (who then governed the ſtate) had little inclination to give, as depending on the aſſiſtance of *France*, by vertue of a defenſive alliance concluded, *Anno* 1662. Beſides, the hatred that party bore to the houſe of *Orange* naturally diſpoſed them to be the enemies of *England*. Their fear was that the king had ſome deſigns, in favour of his nephew the young prince of *Orange*; which deſigns they thought they ſhould encourage by tamely ſubmitting to the demand of ſatisfaction.

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In ſhort, no ſatisfaction being to be hoped for by treaty, the only remedy was war. But before it came to an open rupture between the nations, the *Engliſh* government, in the names of ſubjects, had begun to make repriſals for the damage ſuſtained in time of peace from the ſubjects of the ſtates.

Sir *Robert Holms* had been ſent *Anno* 1661, with four frigates, on account of the duke of *York*, as governor of the *Royal African-Company*, to the coaſt of *Guinea*, to make repriſals for the detaining of *Cape-Corſe Caſtle*, a place belonging to the *Engliſh* in the kingdom of *Fetu*: On which occaſion, he ſummoned the *Dutch* to ſurrender *Cape-Verd* to the company within a limited time; yet offering them the liberty to continue their trade there as before. He then proceeded to a ſmall fort poſſeſs'd by the *Dutch*, who, firing their cannon to prevent the landing of the *Engliſh*, were obliged to ſurrender, and the fort received the name of *James-Fort*, in honour of the duke. From thence ſailing to the river *Gambia*, he diſlodged the *Hollanders*, and built a new fort.

The *Hollanders* ſtill refuſing to deliver *Cape-Corſe*, Sir *Robert* was ſent a ſecond time, *Anno* 1663, with a ſmall ſquadron to take it by force. But ſearching a *Dutch* ſhip by the way, he found orders (as king *Charles* informs the ſtates in his letter, *Octob.* 4. 1666.) from the *Dutch Weſt-India Company* to their governor ge-

neral *Valkenburg*, to ſeize the *Engliſh* fort *Cormantin*; which diſcovery diſpoſed him to go beyond his commiſſion.

In *Jan.* 1664, being arrived near *Cape-Verd*, he took a *Dutch Guinea* ſhip called the *Briel*, and a yatch called the *Neptune*, together with two other ſhips, called, the *Walcheren*, and the *Maagd van Enkhuyſen*; all belonging to the *Weſt-India Company*. The twenty firſt of the ſame month, he arrived with his ſquadron at *Cape Verd*.

This cape is part of the *main-land of Africa*, and lies on the weſt-ſide of the kingdom of *Jaloffi*, and to the *North-weſt* of the river *Gambia*, in the 15th deg. of *North* Latitude. About a cannon-ſhot from thence lies the iſland *Goeree*, whereon were two forts. The lower fort was furniſhed with about twenty pieces of cannon, and the upper with eight: The former was called *Fort-Naſſaw*, the latter *Fort-Orange*.

Sir *Robert* firſt ſummoned theſe two forts of the iſland *Goeree*; which, ſince the governor refuſed to ſurrender, he attacked and took the next day; together with a ſhip called, the *Crocodile*, lying under their protection; after having, the evening before, taken two other *Dutch* ſhips, called the *Viſch-korf* and the *Viſcher*. In the forts he found a great quantity of goods, ready to be ſhipped off for *Holland*, and, among the reſt, twenty thouſand hides.

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Theſe he loaded on his own and the *Dutch* ſhips, and tranſported them to *Sierra Liona.*

Then he proceeded to the haven of *Tacorari,* on the *main-land* of *Africa,* in the kingdom of *Anten;* where he attack'd *Fort-Witſen,* fortified with three walls, and took it by ſtorm, making the garriſon priſoners. Afterwards coming to *St. George del Mina,* the chief of the *Dutch* forts, he attempted with eleven ſloops and three boats to make himſelf maſter of four ſhips, lying at anchor under the cannon of the fort: But the garriſon being on their guard, he could not effect it.

He then proceeded to attack *Cape-Corſe Caſtle:* Which, tho' of extreme difficult acceſs, by a paſſage where a hundred men might have kept off a thouſand, was ſoon forced to ſurrender. *Cape-Corſe* is, at preſent, the chief fort of the *Engliſh,* and the largeſt and fineſt, next the *Dutch* fort of *St. George del Mina,* of the whole coaſt. After theſe ſucceſſes, either he or the garriſon of *Cormantin* attacked and reduced *Adea, Anamabo,* and *Chama.*

The *Dutch,* to render the *Engliſh* at that time odious, gave out that they exerciſed great inhumanities on thoſe occaſions, by cutting off noſes and ears, digging the very dead bodies out of their graves, hewing off their heads, and then carrying them in triumph on their pikes and ſwords. For that purpoſe, a letter from the governor of *Fort del Mina,* filled

led with ſuch complaints as he had heard from thoſe who fled to him for protection, was printed and diſperſed throughout their fleet.

But ſuch ſtories could find no credit with any who were, in the leaſt, acquainted with the character of the *Britiſh* nation. Such rather aſcribed the mentioned cruelties to the barbarous natives of thoſe countries, who joined with the *Engliſh*, and could not be brought under diſcipline. And that it was in reality no otherwiſe, appears from the confeſſion of the *Dutch* author of *De Ruyter's* life, who aſſures us, that they were the *Negroes* who murthered ſeveral *Hollanders* in cold blood. This, it ſeems, the *Engliſh* could not prevent. But he adds, that when one of the chief *Negroes*, called *John Cabeſs*, attempted to murther a certain *Dutch* merchant, he was hindered by Mr. *Selwin*, the *Engliſh* governor of *Fort-Cormantin*: He further informs us, that it was this ſame *Cabeſs* who miſ-handled the dead bodies.

To give an idea of the ſavage diſpoſition of this *Cabeſs*, and of his hatred to the *Dutch* nation, we ſhall inſert the following account from the ſame author. Being the next year beſieged in fort *Cormantin* by *De Ruyter*, he at laſt found the place reduced to the greateſt extremity. Whereupon, fearing leſt, if he fell into the hands of the *Dutch*, he ſhould receive the reward of his cruelties, he would have perſuaded the *Engliſh* governor to blow

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up the fort together with the whole garriſon. But finding him deaf to ſo inhuman a propoſal, he in a rage cut the throats of his own children, and, giving himſelf ſeveral wounds, leaped deſperately from the wall into the ditch, where he died.

From the coaſt of *Guinea*, Sir *Robert* ſailed for *New-Netherland*; which he reduced in the month of *Auguſt* 1664, changing the name into that of *New-York*, in honour of the duke. Yet this was not done, merely by way of repriſal, but partly by vertue of a claim of right. For *New-Netherland* being firſt diſcovered by the *Engliſh* under the conduct of *Sebaſtian Cabot* (who took poſſeſſion of all that *Northern* coaſt in the name of king *Henry* VII of *England*) had been always deemed a part of the *Engliſh American* dominions, till the year 1637, when it was firſt ſeized and planted by the *Dutch*.

Upon the news of theſe proceedings of the *Engliſh* in *Africa* and *America*, the ſtates (or rather the *Loeveſtein* or *Arminian Faction* among the ſtates) who a little before had invited the *Engliſh* court to act in conjunction with them againſt the *Algerines*, immediately diſpatched away ſecret orders to their admiral *De Ruyter*, then at *Cadiz*, to deſert the *Engliſh* admiral *Lawſon*, and ſail with his ſquadron of twelve men of war to retake the places on the coaſt of *Guinea*. This commiſſion he ſo far executed, as

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to oblige the governors for the *African* company, either to ſurrender or demoliſh ſeveral of thoſe forts. He likewiſe ſeized a great quantity of goods belonging to that company. After which, he made himſelf maſter of *Fort-Cormantin*, a place which had always been in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. But *Cape-Corſe* and *Chama* (two of the places taken by Sir *Robert Holms*) remained unreduced. From the coaſt of *Guinea*, *De Ruyter* ſailed to *Barbadoes*, where he attack'd a conſiderable fleet of merchant-ſhips lying under protection of the forts, but was repulſed with great loſs. Then paſſing near *Monſerat*, *Nevis* and *New-foundland*, he took above twenty ſail of *Engliſh* ſhips, and ſo returned to *Holland*.

Theſe actions on both ſides ſerved to exaſperate the two nations, and to haſten the preparations for war; which was proclaimed by the *Dutch* in *January*, and by the *Engliſh* in *February* 1665. But before it came to that, the *Heer van Goch* was ſent by the ſtates, to ply the king with memorials and complaints. To which the king's anſwer was, That he had received no particular information of the affair of *Guinea*; and that the two companies muſt decide the diſpute. Theſe complaints of the ambaſſadors being likewiſe retaliated by the *Engliſh* merchants, whoſe repeated complaints obliged the king to repeat his demands of ſatisfaction, the conſtant refuſal of

of the ſatisfaction demanded was the cauſe of the open rupture between the parties.

This war was begun with the almoſt unanimous conſent of the *Engliſh* nation, at the deſire of the parliament, and with a diſtinguiſhing zeal of the city of *London*, which furniſhed the government with conſiderable ſums to promote it. On the contrary, the juſtice of the war, on the ſide of the ſtates, was doubted of by many of their own ſubjects, who were not of the *Loeveſtein* faction And 'tis remarkable that a certain *Dutch* author, upon the *French* king's declaring for the ſtates, was not afraid to ſay, *that he had choſen the ſide of friendſhip rather than that of juſtice* *.

The *Hollanders*, ſince the war with the rump and *Cromwel*, had, by their profitable trade with *Spain*, been enabled conſiderably to reinforce their fleet. Notwithſtanding which, orders were given, towards the end of the year 1664, for the building of forty-eight new men of war, and for laying up abundance of all ſorts of naval ſtores.

About the time that the war was proclaimed, Sir *Thomas Allen*, with eight or nine men of war and frigates, performed the firſt conſiderable action at Sea, by attacking a fleet of about forty *Dutch Streight*-ſhips near *Cadiz*, under convoy of four men of war, which were aſſiſted by many of the ſtouteſt merchant-ſhips,

* Conſideratien over het Beleyd van *De Wit*.

ſhips, during the fight. In this engagement, the *Dutch* commadore *Brakel* was killed, four of the richeſt ſhips were taken, or ſunk, and the reſt chaſed into the bay of *Cadiz*, where they were for ſome time block'd up by the *Engliſh*.

Nor had the *Engliſh* leſs advantage nearer home. For, of a great fleet coming from *Bourdeaux* and other ports of *France*, no leſs than an hundred and thirty were taken: Some of which, being reclaimed by the *French* and other merchants, were releaſed; but the far greater part were detained and confiſcated.

The ſtates, upon the news of theſe diſaſters, forbad the fiſheries and commerce, laying embargoes on all veſſels, partly to procure men to man their fleet, but chiefly to prevent their falling into the hands of the *Engliſh*. This was extreme damage to the merchants; which damage, notwithſtanding their care, was ſtill increaſed by the loſs of many rich ſhips that were already abroad, and were taken in their return.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, the ſtates, to ingratiate themſelves with the ſubjects of *Great Britain*, releaſed about fifty *Engliſh* and *Scotch* veſſels which had been ſeized in their harbours, at the beginning of the rupture: Whereupon, the king, not enduring to be out-done in point of generoſity, releaſed ſuch

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ſhips of the *Hollanders* as had been ſeized in the ports of *Great Britain.*

Notwithſtanding theſe civilities, the preparations were carried on with equal vigour for a deciſion between the fleets. To encourage their people, the ſtates iſſued a proclamation with promiſes of greater rewards than ever to ſuch as ſhould perform any brave action; and extraordinary bounty-money was given to thoſe who entered into the ſervice. Yet the *Engliſh* fleet was firſt ready; conſiſting of one hundred and nine men of war and frigates, and twenty eight fire-ſhips and ketches manned with twenty one thouſand and ſix ſeamen and ſoldiers, under his royal highneſs the duke of *York*, as admiral of the *Red*, commanding the whole fleet, prince *Rupert*, as admiral of the *White*, and the earl of *Sandwich*, as admiral of the *Blue.* Sailing to the coaſt of *Holland*, they lay ſome time before the *Texel*: But having ſuffered in their ſails and rigging by ſtorm, they were obliged to leave that coaſt, after taking ten or twelve merchant-ſhips. No ſooner were the *Engliſh* gone, than the *Dutch* put to Sea; having, for the greater expedition, partly by perſuaſion, and partly by force, taken the beſt ſeamen out of three *Eaſt-India*-ſhips lately arrived *. Their fleet, which conſiſted of an hundred and twelve men

* Leven van *De Wit* in 4*to* p. 252.

men of war, and thirty fire-ſhips, yatches, *&c.* manned with twenty-two thouſand, three hundred and ſixty-five ſailors and ſoldiers, was commanded by the admiral *Obdam*, and under him, by the young *Tromp*, the two *Evertſons*, *Cortenaar*, *Stellingwerf*, &c. Theſe, coming near the coaſt of *England*, had the fortune to meet with nine rich *Hamburgh* ſhips, under convoy of a frigate of thirty-four guns, which they took with a booty valued at between two and three hundred thouſand pounds *Sterling*. This was a very ſenſible loſs to the merchants; but it was ſoon revenged. For the *Engliſh*, having with the utmoſt ſpeed repaired the damage ſuffered by the ſtorm, put out to Sea, engaged, defeated, and chaſed the *Dutch* into their harbours.

This memorable battle was fought off *Leoſtof*. The *Engliſh* had the weather-gage, and the fight began *June* 3, 1665, at three in the morning. The fleets having ſeveral times charged through each other, without any remarkable advantage, it happened that the earl of *Sandwich*, with his *Blue*-ſquadron, fell about one o'clock into the center of the enemy's fleet, and divided it into two parts; which was a conſiderable ſtep to the victory, by beginning that confuſion which at laſt ended in a flight. In the mean time, the duke of *York* in the *Royal Charles* of eighty guns, and admiral *Obdam* in the *Eendracht* of eighty-four, happened to have a cloſe

a cloſe engagement, during which, the duke was in great danger; the earl of *Falmouth*, the lord *Muskerry*, and Mr. *Boyle*, being all three killed by his ſide with one cannon-ball. But in the heat of the fight, the ſhip of the *Dutch* admiral blew up, and, of five hundred men, only five were ſaved. This accident increaſed the confuſion and conſternation of the enemies; whereupon four of their ſhips, (*viz. Coeverden* of ſixty guns, *Prince Maurice* of fifty, *Utrecht* of forty-four, and another of forty) falling foul of each other, were burnt by one fire-ſhip. Soon after, three others of their beſt ſhips, (*viz. Marſeveen, Tergoes*, and *Swanenburg*) being in the ſame confuſion, ſuffered the ſame fate: And the ſhip *Orange* of ſeventy-five guns, being diſabled in a ſharp fight againſt captain *Smith* of the *Mary*, was likewiſe burnt. So many ſpectacles of miſery moved compaſſion in the breaſts of the *Engliſh* themſelves. The whole *Dutch* fleet ſeemed on fire; and the cries of ſo many unfortunate men, who were either drowning in the Sea, or ſcorch'd in the Flames, was more terrible than the thunder of the cannon. Whatever aſſiſtance is due to people in diſtreſs, was given by the *Engliſh* to their vanquiſhed and periſhing enemies, while the fight was continued againſt the reſt with equal fury. The *Dutch* vice-admiral, *Stellingwerf*, was ſhot through the middle by a cannon-ball; and the vice-admiral, *Corte-*

*naar*, received a ſhot in his thigh, of which he immediately died. In ſhort, the enemy ſuffered a deplorable defeat. Between thirty and forty † of their ſhips went off, about eight in the evening, together, and left the reſt to follow, as well as their ſails and the *Engliſh* would permit. During the fight and chaſe, the *Engliſh* affirm, That no leſs than eighteen of the *Dutch* ſhips were taken (tho' ſome were left again) and about fourteen ſunk, beſides what were burnt and blown up: But the *Dutch* own no more than nine ſhips taken, one blown up, and ſeven or eight burnt. As for the *Engliſh* loſs, tho' it was conſiderable in great men, thro' the death of the earl of *Marlborough*, rear-admiral *Sampſon*, and vice-admiral *Lawſon*, (who died after the fight of a wound in his knee) beſides ſuch as have been already mentioned; yet, it was, otherwiſe, no way proportioned to the greatneſs of the victory. Only one ſhip, the *Charity*, of forty-ſix guns, was taken in the beginning of the fight by a *Dutch* ſhip of ſixty, after having loſt moſt of her men in a rude combat with *Tromp*, *Hiddes*, and *Swart* *. Their loſs in men is computed, in the whole, to have amounted to two hundred and fifty killed, and about three hundred and forty wounded: Which

† Levens der Zeehelden tweede deel. p. 166.

* Leven van Tromp, p. 252.

Which can hardly be ſuppoſed to have been the tythe of the enemy's loſs.

One or two of the *Dutch* hiſtorians, on the credit of a certain anonymous writer, report, that a ſharp encounter happened between the earl of *Sandwich* and one captain *Centen* in the ſhip *Orange* of ſeventy-five guns, mentioned above. This captain, they ſay, having boarded the earl, had the fortune to make himſelf maſter above decks; and the earl, after an hour's fighting, was relieved by prince *Rupert*. But of this, I find no mention in any other hiſtory.

The night after the battle, the whole *Dutch* fleet might probably have been deſtroyed, if the wind had not blown hard upon the ſhoar, and the *Engliſh* had not ſpent their fire-ſhips.

This ſignal victory of the *Engliſh*, joined with the ſucceſſes of the biſhop of *Munſter* at land, cauſed the common people of *Holland* (who were generally of the *Orange-party*) to cry out againſt *De Wit* and the *Loeveſtein-faction*. They conſidered thoſe loſſes and diſgraces as the juſt puniſhments of heaven, for their having broken with a nation of their own religion, by refuſing the ſatisfaction demanded, and for making an alliance with a popiſh prince. But *De Wit* being ſenſible that the intereſt of his party could be no otherwiſe ſupported than by the alliance with

*France*, and fearing that the giving ſatisfaction to *England* might produce farther demands, in favour of the houſe of *Orange*, was reſolute to continue the war. In the mean time, the preachers, who had given themſelves ſome liberties in the pulpit, were ſtrictly forbidden to meddle with ſtate-affairs.

The duke of *York* and prince *Rupert* being gone to court, the chief command of the *Engliſh* fleet was given to the earl of *Sandwich*; who, upon notice that *De Ruyter* was returning from his forementioned expedition to *Guinea* and the *Weſt-Indies*, ſoon put to Sea, with deſign to intercept him. But *De Ruyter*, who had timely intelligence of the late ſucceſſes of the *Engliſh*, was ſo fortunate as to ſave himſelf in the *Weſtern-Ems*.

In the mean time, the earl of *Sandwich*, having received advice, that a very rich fleet of about ſeventy ſail (among which were the *Turkey* fleet and ten *Eaſt-India* ſhips) had taken ſhelter at *Berghen* in *Norway*, he detached Sir *Thomas Tiddiman*, with twelve or fourteen men of war, (the largeſt being a ſixty-gun ſhip) and three fire-ſhips to attack them. This was executed in the very harbour, tho' not ſo ſuddenly as was adviſable. So that the *Hollanders* having a good number of large ſhips, and being protected by the caſtle, as well as by the batteries, which they had time to raiſe on the ſhoar, the attack, tho'

tho' performed with all poſſible vigour, proved unſucceſsful; but ended, however, without the loſs of any ſhip on the ſide of the *Engliſh:* As appears, not only by the *Engliſh* account, but likewiſe by that of *Mynheer Schouten* *, (the famous traveller) who was an eye-witneſs. Yet in this action, which laſted, with the utmoſt fury, the ſpace of above three hours, the *Engliſh* ſuffered conſiderable damage, as did all the largeſt *Dutch* ſhips, which were drawn into a line, to defend the reſt. The wind, which had been a great diſadvantage to the *Engliſh*, during the fight, by blowing all the enemy's ſmoak in their faces, proved at laſt an advantage, by aſſiſting them to make their retreat out of the harbour.

The protection of the *Danes*, upon this occaſion, coſt the *Hollanders* twelve or thirteen thouſand *Rix-Dollars*, (partly given as a gratuity to the *Daniſh* governor, and partly laid out in fortifying the caſtle) beſides forty-one pieces of cannon, which they carried and planted on ſhoar, and which were never reſtored by the *Danes*.

This fleet, which thus eſcaped at *Berghen*, had not the ſame good fortune at Sea: For, being afterwards fetched off by the whole *Dutch* fleet of men of war, they were in their way home attack'd by a violent ſtorm, which



* Levens der Zeehelden, tweede deel. p. 207.

did conſiderable damage to their maſts and ſails, ſunk two fire-ſhips, and ſcattered the men of war and merchant-men in ſuch a manner, that many of them became a prey to the enemies. The vice-admiral and rear-admiral of the *Eaſt-India* fleet, very richly laden, together with four men of war, were taken by five ſhips of the *Engliſh*, which were ſeparated from their fleet by the ſame ſtorm: And ſoon after, four others of the *Dutch* men of war, with two fire-ſhips, and about thirty rich merchant-ſhips, fell in with the groſs of the fleet, and were likewiſe taken.

The *French* king, ſeeing the great ſucceſſes of the *Engliſh*, had offered his mediation for a peace. But, that having been rejected, he recalled his ambaſſador from the court of *England*, and (in purſuance to his treaty with *Holland*) declared war in *January*, 1666. His example was followed by the king of *Denmark*, and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who did the ſame in the end of *February*. But, to induce the *Dane* to take this ſtep, *Holland* was obliged to forgive a debt of forty tons of gold, (or, as ſome ſay, ſixty) due for aſſiſtance againſt the *Swedes*, and to agree to a yearly payment of fifteen tons of gold (whereof three were to be furniſhed by *France*) as long as the war ſhould laſt. And the *French* court, politickly making uſe of this opportunity to become conſiderable at Sea, got

got permiſſion from the ſtates (by the means of the penſioner *De Wit*) to build twelve men of war in *Holland* (beſides others, which they were allowed to build in *Denmark*) and to purchaſe as many more ſtout merchant-ſhips, together with vaſt quantities of ammunition. Whereupon, the *French* prepared to join a fleet of thirty-ſix men of war, beſides gallies and fire-ſhips, with a ſquadron of *Dutch* in the *Mediterranean*, in order to ſail under the duke of *Beaufort*, and make a diverſion in the ocean.

In the mean while, certain overtures were made to prevent the progreſs of a war, which threatened the effuſion of ſo much chriſtian blood: But, the *Engliſh* court far from being frighted, by ſuch a powerful confederacy, would grant no peace to *Holland*, without paying two millions for damages and charges, and excluding their allies. Theſe conditions, however, were not at the firſt entirely rejected by the ſtates; a ſort of treaty being begun at *Paris*, at the requeſt of the queen-mother of *England*, but ſoon broken off by the recalling of the *Engliſh* miniſter *Hollis*.

The following ſummer the fleets put again to Sea, to decide thoſe diſputes by the ſword which could not be determined by treaty: And ſoon after happened the memorable fight of four days; when prince *Rupert* being detached with the whole white ſquadron (except only the admirals) conſiſting of a-

bove twenty men of war and frigates, with order to oppoſe the duke of *Beaufort*, *Monk* with between fifty and ſixty engaged the grand fleet of the *Dutch*, conſiſting of above ninety under the command of *De Ruyter*.

After the departure of prince *Rupert* with the *White*-ſquadron, general *Monk* (newly created duke of *Albemarle*) with the remaining two (*viz.* the *Red* and the *Blue*) paſſing over to the coaſt of *Flanders*, found the *Dutch*-fleet, compoſed of ninety-one men of war, carrying four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixteen guns, and twenty two thouſand four hundred and ſixty-two men*; which, notwithſtanding the vaſt inequality, he took a reſolution to attack. This he executed ſo ſuddenly, as they lay at anchor between *Dunkirk* and the *North-Foreland*, that (as *De Ruyter* ſays in one of his letters to the ſtates) they were obliged to cut their cables, to put themſelves into a poſture to receive him. The fight began on the 1ſt of *June*, and was not quite ended till the 4th at night.

In this remarkable battle, 'tis confeſſed by *De Ruyter*, in the ſame letter to the ſtates-general †, that the *Engliſh* (whom he computes to have been ſeventy ſail, great and ſmall) were, notwithſtanding their inferiority, continually

* Nauwkeurig Verhaal gedrukt door Order van de Heeren Staaten.

† Zeehelden 2de deel, p. 222.

tinually the aggreſſors. It was not without reaſon that many blamed the conduct of the duke of *Albemarle* on this occaſion, at the ſame time that they admired his courage. And indeed the beſt that could be ſaid in his excuſe would amount to no more than this, that his courage and former extraordinary ſucceſſes againſt the *Dutch* had produced in him too great a contempt of that nation. But it ſeems that nothing betrays the weakneſs of human nature, like ſucceſs; a mean opinion of the *Hollanders* being at that time not only the fault of the duke, but of the *Engliſh* in general. For a certain *Dutch* author * brings in the *Engliſh* boaſting, that ſixty of their ſhips were ſufficient to cope with the whole fleet of the *Hollanders*, and that prince *Rupert*'s ſquadron was more than ſufficient againſt the *French*.

To the vaſt inequality of number, there was added another very great diſadvantage, on the ſide of the *Engliſh*, in the firſt day's fight. For it blowing a ſtiff gale, and the *Engliſh* having the weather-gage, their ſhips were ſo bent that (by the teſtimony of divers of the *Dutch* writers themſelves) they could make no uſe of their loweſt tire of cannon; which, by reaſon of its largeneſs and ſituation, is apt to do the greateſt execution.

The

* Eng. Ned. Munſt. Oorl. p. 279.

The firſt day's engagement was very fierce on both ſides. The *Dutch* being ſenſible of their advantage, in point of numbers, found this a favourable opportunity to revenge their former loſſes and diſgraces: On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* ſtrove to ballance the preſent diſadvantages, by reſolution and conſtancy. *Tromp*, exaſperated by the deaths of his father and grandfather, pierced furiouſly through the *Engliſh* ſquadrons; but his ſhip, after having loſt all her maſts, was ſo ſhattered, that he was obliged to quit her. *De Ruyter* loſt his main-top-maſt. The ſhip of captain *Otto Treſlong*, one of *De Ruyter*'s ſeconds, was burnt; and the rear-admiral *Staghouwer* killed. This is what the *Dutch* in their accounts confeſs: But the *Engliſh* ſpeak of two *Dutch* men of war that were burnt. On the ſide of the *Engliſh*, the ſhips of Sir *William Berkley*, vice-admiral of the *White*, and two others, being cut off from the line and very much diſabled in charging through the enemy, were taken, after the death of Sir *William*, and the loſs of almoſt all their men. Towards the latter end of the day, Sir *John Harman*, rear-admiral of the *White*, being ſurrounded by a throng of enemies, ſignalized himſelf by the death of the *Zealand*-admiral, *Evertſon*, and the deſtruction of three of the enemy's fire-ſhips; after which being left by the enemy, (tho' *De Ruyter*, in his letter wherein he gives an account of this

this day's fight, ſays, he was ſunk) he retired with his diſabled ſhip to *Harwich*. The battle ended at ten o' clock.

The following night was ſpent in repairing the damage ſuffered on both ſides, as well as poſſible; and next morning the fight was renewed by the *Engliſh* with freſh vigour. About noon, *Tromp* (who, by a ſort of *Pythagorean* tranſmigration, paſſed from ſhip to ſhip, and ſought revenge in variety of ſhapes) being together with the vice-admiral *Vander Hulſt*, and others, too raſhly engaged among the *Engliſh*, was in the utmoſt danger of being taken or burnt; and the affairs of the *Dutch* (according to the teſtimony of captain *Ruth Maximiliaan* *, a noted *Dutch* captain, who was preſent) ſeemed to be in a deſperate condition. But *Tromp* and his companions were, at laſt, relieved by *De Ruyter*, after the loſs of one or two ſhips burnt, and the death of *Vander Hulſt*, who was ſhot with a musket-bullet.

The duke, finding that the *Dutch* had received a reinforcement, and that his ſmall fleet, on the contrary, was much weakened through the damages ſuſtained by ſome, and the loſs and abſence of others of his ſhips, took, towards the evening, the reſolution to retire, and endeavour to join prince *Rupert*, who was coming to his aſſiſtance. The retreat

* vid. Leven van Tromp, p. 312, 313.

treat (according to the letter of the aforementioned *Dutch* captain) was performed in good order: Twenty-ſix or twenty-eight men of war, that had ſuffered leaſt, brought up the rear, interpoſing between the enemy and the diſabled ſhips; three of which, being very much ſhattered, were burnt by the *Engliſh* themſelves, and the men taken on board the other ſhips. The *Dutch*-fleet followed; but at a diſtance. As they thus ſailed on, it happened on the third day, that Sir *George Aſcough*, admiral of the *White*, commanding the *Royal Prince* (being the largeſt and heavieſt ſhip of the whole fleet) unfortunately ſtruck upon the ſand, called the *Galloper*; where being threatened by the enemy's fire-ſhips, and hopeleſs of aſſiſtance from his friends, (whoſe timely return the near approach of the enemy, and the contrary tide, had rendered impoſſible) he was forced to ſurrender. His ſhip was there burnt, and himſelf and his men were made priſoners. But, towards the evening, prince *Rupert* coming up with his ſquadron, the *Engliſh*, with drums beating and trumpets ſounding, ſet their courſe towards the enemy, and renewed the fight, charging through and through the *Dutch* ſquadrons; but the night ſoon after parted the fleets.

On the fourth day, the *Dutch*, who were ſtill conſiderably ſtronger than the *Engliſh*, were (according to prince *Rupert*'s letter) almoſt

moſt out of ſight; but, being purſued, were overtaken about eight o'clook, and the fight begun anew in a terrible manner. Both parties, impatient to bring this long diſpute to a deciſion, gave the utmoſt proofs of courage and conduct. The ſhip of the *Dutch* captain *Uytenhof* was burnt. Thoſe of *Tromp* and *Sweers*, being quite diſabled, were obliged to leave the fight. The ſhip *Dom van Uytrecht* yielded to the duke, but was afterwards relieved. Several of the *Engliſh* ſuffered conſiderable damage, and two or three, much diſabled, were taken. The fight laſted till about ſeven in the evening, when a ſudden miſt drew a curtain before the bloody ſcene; and ſo this tragedy, tho' one of the longeſt that ever were acted upon the Sea, concluded with the fourth act.

I cannot omit ſome particular inſtances of the *Engliſh* bravery, becauſe I have found them partly recorded with honour in divers of the *Dutch* hiſtories.

The reſolution of Sir *William Berkley* was very remarkable; who, tho' he found himſelf cut off from the line, encompaſſed with enemies, his men murthered, his ſhip diſabled and boarded by multitudes at once, yet defended himſelf, almoſt alone, ſacrificed four or five of the enemies with his own hands, and after all died without accepting quarter *.

The

* Leven van Tromp, p. 326.

The like bravery was ſhewn by the rear-admiral *Mings*; who, having received a bullet in his neck, refuſed to be bound, or to leave the deck, and forcibly detained the flowing blood, near an hour with his fingers, till a ſecond bullet went through his neck, and ſo finiſhed at once what the other had begun †.

Sir *John Harman*, being diſabled amidſt a throng of enemies, was grappled by a fire-ſhip, which, at firſt, raiſed ſuch a thick ſmoak, that it could not be ſeen where the grappling irons were fixed: But, upon her taking fire, the boatſwain, with a deſperate courage, ſprung on board her, and perceiving the irons, by the light of her own fire, got them looſe; for which exploit, he was afterwards made captain of the *Ruby*. Hereupon the enemies, finding their fire-ſhip was ſpent without effect, ſent off a ſecond, which, grappling Sir *John*'s ſhip, ſet her on fire. This cauſed ſuch deſpair among his ſeamen, that about fifty of them leaped into the Sea, to avoid the fury of a more terrible element: But Sir *John*, with his ſword drawn, running among his men, threatened to kill any that ſhould refuſe to aſſiſt in getting looſe from the fire-ſhip, and quenching the flames. This his preſence of mind produced the like reſolution in his people, and their joint

† Leven van Tromp, p. 326.

joint endeavours, at laſt, prevailed over the violence of the fire. But, the cordage being burnt, a yard fell on Sir *John*'s leg and broke it. The enemy ſeeing the fire extinguiſhed, after having in vain ſummoned him to ſurrender, ſent off a third fire-ſhip; but four pieces of his lower-tire ſunk her, before ſhe came aboard. The laſt broad-ſide, that was given by Sir *John*, killed the *Dutch* vice-admiral, *Evertſon* *; (as we before obſerved.) Upon which, being left by the enemy, he retired to *Harwich*; where having in ſome meaſure repaired the damage, and ſet up jury-maſts, he (tho' in great pain by his broken leg) put to Sea again, to have had a ſhare in the honour of the laſt day's engagement: But, before he could come up with the fleet, the fight was ended.

More might be added, if any thing greater could be ſaid of thoſe actions of our countrymen, than what the penſioner *De Wit* himſelf ſaid, ſome time after, to Sir *William Temple*, a man of ſufficient credit. The penſioner, we know, was far from being partial to the *Engliſh* nation. Yet he owned, "That the "*Engliſh* got more glory to their nation and "the invincible courage of their ſeamen by "thoſe engagements, than by the two vic-"tories of this war; and that he was ſure "their own people could never have been "brought

* Id. p. 320.

" brought on the following days, after the " diſadvantages of the firſt; and he believed, " that no other nation was capable of it, but " the *Engliſh* *." And the *Dutch* writers of *Tromp*'s and *De Ruyter*'s lives, tho' they take much pains to perſuade their readers, that the *Hollanders* won great honour in this four days fight, yet confeſs, that it was the cruelleſt they had ever engaged in.

The *Dutch* hiſtorians, in general, make extraordinary encomiums on the conduct of the admiral *De Ruyter*; who, they ſay, by his great experience, always prevented the diſordering of the *Dutch*-fleet, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the *Engliſh*. Particularly, one of them obſerves, that he was the man who firſt taught the *Hollanders*, that the *Engliſh* were vincible, after ſo much contempt, as they had ſhewn, of the *Dutch* nation †.

They generally compute their own loſs but at four, or at the moſt, ſix men of war. That of the *Engliſh* was at firſt given out to amount to thirty-five; then it fell to twenty-five; then to twenty-three, and at laſt to ſixteen; as is obſerved by the *Dutch* author of *De Wit*'s life in 12*mo*. However, ſix *Engliſh* men of war and frigates, taken in thoſe engagements, gave occaſion to a mighty triumph. And not without reaſon; for in all the general engagements,

* Sir *W. Temple*'s Obſervations, p. 206.
† Levens der Zeehelden 2de deel, p. 227.

engagements, both before and ſince, the *Hollanders* carried off but one man of war of the *Engliſh*. Their account of the loſs of men, on the ſide of the *Engliſh*, is ſtill more extravagant: Which they make to amount to five or ſix thouſand killed, beſides the wounded (which uſually are not fewer) and about three thouſand priſoners. But this account muſt be allowed to be impoſſible: Unleſs we can ſuppoſe the number of the killed, wounded, and priſoners exceeded, or at leaſt, equalled that of all the *Engliſh*, who were engaged the two firſt days.

On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* affirm, that the *Dutch* loſt fourteen or fifteen men of war and frigates, with one and twenty captains, and above five thouſand common men; and they compute their own loſs, during the fight, but at nine men of war; tho' they confeſs, a great number of men were killed and wounded.

The *Dutch*, however, having had fewer ſhips diſabled, appeared in a ſhort time before the *Thames*: Where they had not been long, e're they ſaw the *Engliſh* fleet coming down the river, to engage them on more equal terms; upon which they immediately retired towards the coaſt of *Holland*.

The *Engliſh* fleet conſiſted of about eighty men of war, and frigates, and eighteen or nineteen fire-ſhips, divided, as uſual, into

three ſquadrons, *viz.* the *Red* under prince *Rupert*, and the duke of *Albemarle*, (who were both in one ſhip) the *White* under Sir *Thomas Allen*, and the *Blue* commanded by Sir *Jeremiah Smith*.

The *Dutch*, (according to their own accounts) were eighty-eight men of war and frigates, and about twenty fire-ſhips, divided likewiſe into three main ſquadrons, under the command of *De Ruyter*, *Evertſon* and *Tromp*.

The *Engliſh* being come up with the enemy, there happened a furious engagement, on the 25th of *July*, at noon, *North-eaſt* and by *Eaſt* of the *North Foreland*. Sir *Thomas Allen*, with the *White*-ſquadron, began the fight by attacking *Evertſon*. Prince *Rupert* and the duke, about one o'clock, made a deſperate attack upon *De Ruyter*, and, after a fight of three hours, were obliged to tranſport themſelves on board another ſhip. In the mean time, the *Frieſland* and *Zealand* ſquadrons under *Evertſon* were put to flight, by Sir *Thomas Allen*; and *Evertſon*, together with his vice-admiral *De Vries*, and his rear-admiral *Koenders*, killed. On this occaſion, the ſhip of the *Zealand* vice-admiral *Bankert*, being left, was taken by the *Engliſh* and burnt, together with the ſhip *Sneek*, of fifty guns. The ſight of theſe advantages cauſed prince *Rupert* and the duke, with the *Red*-ſquadron, to redouble their fury againſt *De Ruyter*, whom they

they engaged, ſhip to ſhip. In this fray a *Dutch* fire-ſhip was ſunk; and the ſhip *Guelderland* of ſixty-ſix guns, (being one of *De Ruyter*'s ſeconds) was quite diſabled: But the captain of an *Engliſh* fire-ſhip, attempting to grapple her, was forced to ſet fire to his ſhip too ſoon. A ſecond *Dutch* fire-ſhip was burnt by the *Engliſh*, and moſt of the men drowned. Captain *Ruth Maximiliaan*, another of *De Ruyter*'s ſeconds, was killed; and *Nyhof* and *Hogenhoek*, his other ſeconds, mortally wounded. After theſe loſſes, ſeveral of *De Ruyter*'s ſquadron began to diſengage and truſt to their ſails. But his vice-admiral *Van Nes* ſtood bravely by him, and received great damage. Yet, being at laſt deſerted by moſt of their ſquadron, they yielded to neceſſity, and followed with only eight or nine ſhips. *De Ruyter*'s ſhip was ſo diſabled, and his people ſo fatigued, that he could make no reſiſtance; and only the calm prevented his being boarded by the *Engliſh*.

As for *Tromp*, being hotly engaged with Sir *Jeremiah Smith*, and the *Blue*-ſquadron, he ſuffered himſelf to be drawn ſo far from the reſt of the fleet, that he loſt the opportunity of aſſiſting his friends, who were in diſtreſs. This is generally ſuppoſed, by the *Dutch* writers, to have happened through a ſtratagem of the *Engliſh*; *Smith*'s ſquadron being the weakeſt of the *Engliſh*, and *Tromp*'s the ſtrong-

eſt of the *Dutch*. In this fight, *Tromp*'s rear-admiral *Hoen* was killed, and the ſhip of his vice-admiral *Meppel* extreamly ſhattered, having an hundred men killed and wounded. On the other ſide, the *Reſolution*, an *Engliſh* man of war, commanded by captain *Haiman*, was burnt by a fire-ſhip.

In the mean time, *De Ruyter* was making his retreat; which, for want of wind, continued all night and the next day. Prince *Rupert* and the duke of *Albemarle*, with part of the *Red*-ſquadron, were always cloſe at his heels; from whom he ſtood out a terrible ſtorm. Some *Dutch* writers relate, that *Van Nes*, having been on board *De Ruyter*'s ſhip to conſult what was to be done, he was no ſooner gone than a great ſhot took away the bench on which they both had ſate. The prince and the duke continued the chaſe; but not being able to board *De Ruyter*, for want of wind, they thought to have ruined him by a fire-ſhip; which miſſed very little of its effect. This deſign being diſappointed, they began to cannonade with greater fury; which almoſt reduced *De Ruyter*, tho' a man of tried courage, to deſpair. The *Dutch* hiſtorian who writ his life informs us, that he was heard to ſay, *O God, how am I thus unfortunate! Is there not one bullet among ſo many thouſands, to put a period to my life!* But by this time they began to approach the ſhallows on the *Dutch* coaſt; which

which ſoon obliged the *Engliſh* to give over the chaſe.

Tho' the *Dutch* allow the glory of the victory to the *Engliſh*, yet they pretend that they themſelves ſuffered the leaſt damage. *De Ruyter*, in his letter to the ſtates, writes (tho' without certainty) that the *Engliſh* loſt four men of war; two of which he heard were ſunk, and as many burnt. On the contrary the *Engliſh*, (who loſt no great officer, and but few captains) affirm they miſſed but one man of war and ſome fire-ſhips. But their accounts of the enemy's loſs make it to amount to no leſs than twenty ſhips ſunk or burnt. They add rear-admiral *Van Saan* to the number of the killed, on the ſide of the *Hollanders*, and ſpeak of no leſs than four thouſand killed in the whole, and about three thouſand wounded.

The enemy being driven over the flats into the *Wielings*, the *Engliſh* went to lye in *Schonevelt*, the uſual rendezvous of the *Dutch* fleets.

The noiſe of the *Engliſh* cannon upon their coaſt ſoon rouzed the *Hollanders* out of their pleaſing dream of victory. They ſaw their fleet defeated, and their ſhoars inſulted by an enemy, who, but ſix weeks before, they were made to believe, was entirely broken and diſabled. Such complaints were likewiſe brought in to the ſtates, as produced a freſh enqui-

ry into the behaviour of the officers of the fleet; of which ſeveral were puniſhed, and *Tromp* himſelf was diſcharged the ſervice for ill conduct.

While the *Dutch* were refitting their ſhattered fleet, the *Engliſh* were not idle in reaping the fruits of their victory. They paſſed along the whole coaſt of *Holland*, taking ſhips at the very mouths of the harbours, and cauſing a hot alarm where-ever they appeared. Being come before the *Vlie*, they had intelligence by a fiſher-man who was fallen into their hands, that, upon the iſlands *Vlie* and *Schelling*, there were ſeveral conſiderable magazines belonging to the ſtates and the *Eaſt-India* company, and a great number of rich merchant-ſhips lately come from *Muſcovy*, *Guinea*, and other parts, lying at anchor within the iſlands. Upon this information, nine frigates, five fire-ſhips, and ſeven ketches were detached to deſtroy them under the command of Sir *Robert Holms*. With theſe Sir *Robert* came the next day, being the 8th of *Auguſt*, at eight in the morning, to anchor before the *Vlie*. From thence he ſent in a ketch upon diſcovery, which, returning, partly confirmed the report of the fiſher-man, having counted about two hundred ſail of merchant-men, with two men of war which had ſerved as convoys.

A council of war being called, it was reſolved not as yet to attempt the ruining of the magazines on the iſlands, leſt the garriſons ſhould be aſſiſted from the ſhips, during the attack. 'Twas then concluded to make the firſt attempt on the fleet: For which purpoſe, the *Pembroke*-frigate, being the lighteſt, was ſent with the five fire-ſhips into the *Vlie* to make a trial. The deſign was executed with no leſs dexterity than bravery. One of the fire-ſhips, commanded by captain *Brown*, immediately grappled the largeſt of the convoys and fired her; and the *Dutch* captain, after ſome reſiſtance, endeavouring with fifteen or ſixteen men to ſave himſelf in the boat, was drowned. The other convoy was at the ſame time burnt by another fire-ſhip, but the captain and part of the men had the good fortune to eſcape. This being perceived by the merchant-ſhips which lay behind, they cut their cables, and drove away towards the *Shallows*. But being followed by the three remaining fire-ſhips, ſeveral of the richeſt ſhips were burnt. And Sir *Robert* ſending off, at the ſame time, about twenty pinnaces from under the iſland where he lay, they eaſily overtook the flying enemies, and with combuſtible materials ſet fire to almoſt the whole fleet: For the *Engliſh*, having received orders not to plunder on pain of death, were ſo expeditious in their work,

that only three or four privateers, one *Guinea* and a few *Muſcovy* ſhips had time to reach the *Shallows*; all the reſt periſhing by the flames.

Having thus far executed his deſign, he ſent two frigates and ſome ketches to make a deſcent upon the iſland *Vlie*. But this was prevented by a hard rain, which rendered the fire-arms unſerviceable.

But, on the iſland *Schelling*, they had better ſucceſs; where landing their men, divided into eleven companies, and ſeeing no other way of deſtroying the magazines, they laid the town of *Brandaries* in aſhes, after having plundered as much as the time would permit. This town was the chief of the iſland, and conſiſted of ſix or ſeven hundred houſes.

Sir *Robert* had formed a deſign againſt two other towns on the ſame iſland; but conſidering, that, if he undertook it, he ſhould be obliged to wait, at leaſt, twenty-four hours for the tide, and fearing, leſt if the wind in the mean time ſhould change, he might find great difficulty to get off, he therefore ordered all his men on board, and ſo rejoined the fleet.

The loſs of the *Hollanders*, on this occaſion, was moſt deplorable. The ſhips, and their proper ladings, were valued, by themſelves, at twelve millions of guilders, or about a million, one hundred-thouſand pounds *Sterling*:

*ling*: And theſe were become yet richer, by reaſon of a great quantity of valuable goods, which the chief inhabitants of the *Vlie* brought on board, at the firſt approach of the *Engliſh*, as thinking them ſafer there, than on ſhoar. Add to all this, the value of the houſes, goods, and magazines on the iſland *Schelling*; and, by a moderate computation, the loſs muſt amount to a very great ſum. On the contrary, the loſs of the *Engliſh* amounted to no more than four or five fire-ſhips (which were well employed) a few pinnaces, which were ſunk by the enemy's cannon, and ſix men killed, and about as many wounded.

After theſe ſucceſſes, and the taking of twelve or fourteen prizes on the coaſt, the *Engliſh* fleet returned home. Upon which, the *Hollanders* put to Sea with ſeventy-nine men of war and frigates, and twenty-ſeven fire-ſhips, under command of *De Ruyter*. Their intention was, to ſail down the *Channel*, in order to join the *French* admiral, the duke of *Beaufort*. At this time the *Engliſh* (who had been reinforced ſince the laſt battle) had ten or twelve ſhips more than the enemy; it being almoſt the only time, either in this or the former war, that they had either outnumbered or equalled them. This ſuperiority, joined with their intereſt, to prevent the conjunction of the *French*, cauſed a great forwardneſs in the *Engliſh* to engage.

But

But a hard wind deprived them of their advantage, and gave opportunity to the enemy to eſcape. According to the *Engliſh* accounts, the *Dutch*, whoſe chief view was to join the *French*, were ſo afraid of an engagement, that, when the *Engliſh* ſtood in after them to the road of *Boulogn*, they haul'd cloſe in with the ſhoar, and had been there burnt or run-a-ground, if the ſtorm, ſuddenly coming on, had not forced their enemy to retire to *St. Hellen*'s. Yet ſome *Dutch* writers would perſuade the world, that the *Engliſh*, tho' fluſh'd with victory, ſuperior in number, and near their own coaſt, avoided a general engagement. A ſtory as likely, as that they formerly fled from an inferior number of vanquiſhed enemies, after the victory they had gained near *Jucatra* (now called *Batavia*) in the *Eaſt-Indies*, already mentioned! But that the fleets, at *Jucatra*, were parted by ſtorm, is clear not only from the teſtimony of monſieur * *De Neufville*; but likewiſe from the conſequent ſiege of the *Dutch* fort: And that nothing but the hard wind prevented an engagement on this occaſion, appears from the confeſſion of *Montanus* †, one of their own hiſtorians. In fine, the duke of *Beaufort* (tho' come as far as *Diep* in *Normandy*) not daring to proceed, 'tis probable

* Hiſt. de Holland, p. 2. l. 4. chap. 1.
† Leven van Wil. Hendrik, p. 59.

bable the *Dutch* were glad of the change of wind, which favoured their retreat to their own coaſt.

About this time, two *Dutch* men of war, and as many privateers, violated the neutrality of the *Elb*, by attacking ſeventeen *Engliſh* merchant-ſhips in that river; whereof three, together with a *Hamburgher*, were burnt. But one captain *Green*, by defending himſelf bravely the whole night, till his ſhip ſunk, gave opportunity to the reſt to ſave themſelves under the canon of *Hamburgh*. Some of the *Dutch* officers, upon their return to *Holland*, were diſcharged the ſervice, for ill conduct in this affair †.

To conclude the actions of this year in *Europe*, ſeven *French* and *Dutch* men of war, (being part of the duke of *Beaufort*'s ſquadron) were defeated by Sir *Thomas Allen* on the *French* coaſt; one *French* ſhip, called the *Ruby*, carrying ſeventy guns, and five hundred men, was taken, and two of the *Dutch* were driven aſhore and burnt, the reſt, with much difficulty, eſcaping up the *Seine*: And, of five *Dutch* cruiſers, three were taken or deſtroyed, by commadore *Robertſon*, near the *Texel*.

In the beginning of *July*, the ſtates taking the opportunity of a letter which they writ to the king of *England*, about diſpoſing of the body

† Engelſe, Holl. Munſt. Oorl. p, 349.

body of Sir *William Berkley*, who was killed in the great four days fight, had made ſome overtures of peace. This letter was civilly anſwered by another, wherein the king ſhewed himſelf not averſe to it, notwithſtanding that the happy ſucceſs of his arms might (as he ſaid) have inſpired him with other thoughts. Hereupon, they ſent, together with the ſaid body, another letter on the ſame ſubject, dated *Sept.* 6. To this, the king replied *Octob.* 4, giving an account, at large, of the grounds of his beginning the war, and of the terms upon which he was diſpoſed to end it. The ſtates writ a reply, *Nov.* 16; which not ſatisfying the king, the treaty, for a time, ſeemed to be broken off. But they, ſoon after, ſent another letter with the propoſal of a formal congreſs, in ſome neutral place, at the king's choice; upon which, the king, for doing them the greater honour, choſe the *Hague*. This they, for certain reaſons, thought fit to except againſt, and to propoſe either *Maeſtricht*, *Bois-le-duc*, or *Breda*. At laſt, 'twas agreed it ſhould be at *Breda*; and accordingly all the ambaſſadors of the parties concerned met, together with the *Swediſh* mediators, and had their firſt conference in the end of *May*, 1667.

Having thus far taken a view of the affairs of war and peace in *Europe*, we may now look

look abroad and obſerve what paſſed in remoter parts.

In the *Weſt-Indies*, the *Engliſh* took the iſlands of *St. Euſtace*, *Tobago*, and other places from the *Dutch*. On the contrary, the *Dutch*, under the conduct of the *Zealand* commadore, *Quiryns*, made themſelves maſters of *Surinam*: And the *French*, aſſiſted by the *Dutch*, almoſt deprived the *Engliſh* of half the iſland of *St. Chriſtopher's*, after ſeveral obſtinate diſputes, and the death of their commander *Les Salles*. Six frigates, and ſome other ſmall veſſels from *Barbadoes*, ſailing to repair this loſs, were ſo ill treated by a violent ſtorm, that they were put out of a condition to execute their deſign, and two or three of the moſt diſabled ſhips fell into the hands of the enemy. In the mean time, the *Dutch* admiral, *Evertſon*, recovered *Tobago*, and, in company with *Quiryns*, took many prizes on the coaſt of *Virginia*. On the other ſide, Sir *John Harman*, who was ſent to protect the *Engliſh* ſettlements, being arrived before *St. Chriſtopher's*, with twelve frigates, in the end of *March* 1667, burnt two *French* ſhips; and ſoon after, upon intelligence, that two *Zealand* privateers, with four prizes, lay at *Guadalupe*, he ſent part of his ſquadron thither, which took them; and afterwards, landing on the iſland, did conſiderable damage. The news of this having reached *Martinico*, monſieur *De la Barre* and the *Zealand* commadore,

madore, *Quiryns*, with the united forces of the *French* and *Dutch*, conſiſting of twenty-two men of war and frigates, with thirteen hundred ſoldiers on board, ſailed to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Engliſh*. On the 10th of *May*, they came in ſight of *St. Chriſtopher*'s, and were immediately encountered by the *Engliſh* ſquadron. In this engagement, which was very ſharp, and laſted about three hours, the *Engliſh* were ſometimes almoſt ſurrounded: But the conduct and bravery of their admiral, being well ſeconded by the inferior officers and ſeamen, rendered them not only equal, but ſuperior to the enemies. In ſhort, both *French* and *Dutch* were defeated, with the loſs of five or ſix of their ſhips.

The *Dutch* hiſtorians differ in their accounts of this action. One * ſays, that the *Engliſh* retired after the fight, and left the confederates maſters of the place of battle. Another †, without mentioning any ſuch advantage gained by the confederates, contents himſelf with ſaying, That both parties, after a hot engagement, retired; the *Engliſh* to *Nevis*, and the confederates to *St. Chriſtopher*'s. But *Swinnas* (a noted *Dutch* hiſtorian) in the third part of his hiſtory, confeſſes what the others endeavour to conceal, *viz.* that

* Engelſe, Ned. en Munſt. Oorl. p. 417.
† Levens der Zeehelden 2de deel. p. 244.

that the *French* and *Dutch* were worſted, and ſuffered a conſiderable loſs.

'Tis remarkable that tho' Sir *John Harman*, about the time of this action, was lame and in great pain by the gout; yet upon diſcovery of the enemy's fleet he got up, walked about, and gave orders as well as ever, till the fight was over, and then became as lame as before.

The *Zealand* commadore, complaining that he had not been well ſeconded in the engagement, parted ſoon after from the *French*, and ſo the *Engliſh* were left entire maſters in thoſe Seas. Nor did they fail of improving their advantage: For, attacking the *French* in the very port, they burnt their admiral, and ſix or ſeven of their beſt ſhips; all the reſt, except two, being ſunk either by the *Engliſh* ſhot, or by the *French* themſelves. After this, they retook *Surinam* from the *Dutch*, and made themſelves maſters of the *French* iſland *Cajana*.

The great ſucceſſes of the *Engliſh*, during this and the former war, had, it ſeems, taught both *French* and *Dutch*, how little advantage they were to expect either from their courage or plain-dealing: They therefore reſolved to have recourſe to addreſs and ſtratagem. *John De Wit*, penſioner of *Holland*, was the man who, together with the miniſters of *France*, contriv'd the affront at *Chatham*; which, being

being firſt privately agreed on between him and the *French* ambaſſador *D' Eſtrades*, was afterwards formally conſented to, and the project ſigned by the ſaid *D' Eſtrades* on the one hand, and the deputies of the ſtates on the other, *April* 25, 1667. According to this agreement, the *French* were to have ſent a ſquadron under the duke of *Beaufort*, to aſſiſt in the execution of the deſign: But they declined the performance; being content that the *Dutch*, by being the only actors in that affair, ſhould draw upon themſelves all the revenge of the *Engliſh* nation. To prepare the way for the execution of their project, a letter was written, thro' the inſtigation of the *French* miniſters, by the queen-mother of *England*, who was then in *France*, to inform the king her ſon, that both the *French* and *Dutch* had their eyes wholly turned towards the treaty of peace which was negotiating at *Breda*, and that they had no deſign to bring a fleet to Sea that year. This had the deſired effect, and by impoſing on the king (who thereupon neglected all naval preparations, tho' lately well ſupplied with all manner of ſtores from *Gottenburgh*) was the chief occaſion * of the ſucceſs of their deſign. For this expedition, like that of the *Argonauts*, could not ſucceed, till the guardian dragon was laid aſleep.

The

* Valkenier's Verwerd Europa, p. 73.

The *Dutch*, taking this advantage, haſtily manned out a conſiderable fleet, and, being aſſiſted by ſome traiterous *Engliſh* pilots, entered the river of *Thames* in the beginning of *June*, under the command of the admiral *Van Ghent*. What exploits they performed, both there and in the river *Medway*, ſhall be related according to the moſt authentick accounts both *Dutch* and *Engliſh*.

*Cornelius De Wit* (the brother of the penſioner) who was preſent at the execution of this deſign, in quality of deputy of their high-mightineſſes, informs them in his letter, that *Sheerneſs-Fort* (which the *Dutch* hiſtorians † own was in no ſtate of defence) was left by the *Engliſh*, after having been cannonaded about half an hour by the *Hollanders*, who found in it fifteen iron guns, with a great quantity of naval ſtores valued at thirty or forty thouſand pounds: That, proceeding up the river *Medway*, they found ſeveral frigates ready to diſpute with them the paſſage to *Chatham*, ſo that (the deep part of the river being narrow) it was a conſiderable time 'ere any of the *Dutch* captains had the reſolution to advance and force their way: That, at laſt, one captain *Brakel* (to attone for ſome offence he had committed) offered his ſervice to make the firſt attempt; and afterwards, advancing with great bravery, boarded and took the foremoſt of the *Engliſh* frigates which



† Levens der Zeehelden tweede deel, p. 248.

guarded the paſſage, being a ſhip of about forty guns, called the *Jonathan:* That the next ſhip of the *Dutch* that advanced was a fire-ſhip, which had the luck to grapple and fire another *Engliſh* ſhip carrying fifty-two guns, called the *Matthias*; after which ſeveral ſhallops were ſent in, which took poſſeſſion of the *Royal Charles*, being left by her men, and having only thirty two guns mounted: That this was followed by the burning of two other ſhips, called the *Charles the Fifth* and the *Fort of Honingen*, being ſixty and ſeventy-gun ſhips: That another ſhip was likewiſe burnt, but the name was unknown: That this good ſucceſs gave them encouragement to attempt three others (being all capital ſhips, and lying near *Upnor-Caſtle*) called the *Great James*, the *Loyal London*, and the *Royal Oak:* That theſe, being all unrigged and without cannon, were at laſt grappled and burnt by the fire-ſhips, notwithſtanding the continual fire of the caſtle; and he adds, that all this was performed with the loſs of about one hundred and fifty men, on the ſide of the *Dutch.*

The *Engliſh* accounts ſay, that after the taking of *Sheerneſs-Fort* (which was unfiniſhed) ſome veſſels were ſunk at the entrance of the *Medway*, and a chain was laid acroſs that river; but that a high tide and a ſtrong eaſterly wind rendered thoſe precautions ineffectual, by giving the enemy an eaſy paſ-

ſage

ſage; upon which, three frigates that lay behind the chain were ſoon deſtroyed by the fire-ſhips. They deny that the *Royal Oak*, the *Loyal London*, and the *Great James* were all burnt; the two laſt being only damaged. They own the carrying off the hull of the *Royal Charles*, after the *Engliſh* had twice fired her, to prevent that diſhonour.

The total of the *Engliſh* loſs in ſhipping (according to the *Dutch* account) is two ſhips taken, and ſeven burnt; four of which (*viz.* the *Jonathan*, the *Matthias*, the *Charles the Fifth*, and the *Fort of Honingen*) were *Dutch* ſhips formerly taken by the *Engliſh*. But (according to the *Engliſh* accounts) only three frigates and one man of war were burnt, and the hull of another taken and carried off. To which loſs may be added five or ſix fire-ſhips that were ſunk, to ſtop up the paſſage.

On the other ſide, the *Dutch* (according to the *Engliſh* accounts) ſpent eight fire-ſhips, in executing the deſign, and loſt two men of war, which ran a-ground in the river *Medway*, and were burnt.

The carrying off of the *Royal Charles* yielded no little ſubject of triumph to the *Dutch*; this being the ſhip which the author of *De Ruyter*'s life calls *The Terror of the Sea*, having been formerly the ſhip of general *Monk*.

During the action, nothing happened ſo remarkable as the noble reſolution of one cap-

tain *Dowglaſs*, a *Scotch* gentleman; who receiving no orders to retire, when the *Royal Oak*, which he was appointed to defend, was ſet on fire, is reported to have replied to thoſe who adviſed him to ſave himſelf, *It ſhall never be ſaid that a* Dowglaſs *quitted his poſt without order*: Which words he failed not to make good; for when the reſt of the defendants ſhifted for themſelves, he remained on board, and was burnt together with the ſhip. This was ſuch an inſtance of heroick bravery, as can hardly be matched by any other hiſtories than thoſe of ancient *Greece* and *Rome*.

Tho' the court of *England* was too ſecure, and took no effectual meaſures to prevent a ſurprize; yet this attempt could not perhaps have ſucceeded ſo well, had not the *Dutch*, by the advantage of the wind, gained ſuch a ſpeedy paſſage up the river, as almoſt prevented the news of their coming.

However, the vanity of *Cornelius De Wit*, who (as we ſaid) was preſent at the action, was increaſed by the ſucceſs of this hazardous undertaking to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed (or at leaſt permitted) his picture to be hung up in the council-chamber of the ſtadt-houſe at *Dort* (where he had been burghomaſter) by which he was repreſented as a hero with a river full of burning ſhips on the one hand, and a *Cornu Copiæ* on the other; ſignifying the action of *Chatham* and

and the peace that ſucceeded it. But this being afterwards alledged, as one ground of the following war, and the burghers of *Dort* coming to underſtand that the king of *England* reſented the inſolence of the picture ſo highly, they tore it in pieces, nailing the head to the gallows, and the other pieces round the court of guard *. And his perſon ſoon after ſhared the ſame fate with his picture, he being murthered by the burghers, and cut to pieces, together with his brother the penſioner, by the enraged mob at the *Hague*. And, that no token of the action at *Chatham* might remain, the *Royal Charles* was taken to pieces by order of the ſtates.

But to proceed. The *Dutch* having thus far executed their deſign at *Chatham*, (and finding the paſſage at *Graveſend* impracticable) fell down the river, and made an attempt on *Landguard-Fort* near *Harwich*, with fifteen or ſixteen hundred men ſupported by the cannon of the fleet: But they were beaten off with conſiderable loſs by the country-militia.

To ballance this diſgrace by ſome other exploit, they reſolved to enter the river a ſecond time. Accordingly, *De Ruyter* being ſailed with one part of the fleet to the weſtward, to alarm the coaſt, *Van Nes*, on the



* Montanus in het Leven van *Will. Hendrik*, p. 463. Valkenier's Verwerd Europa, p. 677.

23d of *July*, ſailed with the other part up the river as far as the *Hope*, where Sir *Edward Sprag* lay with five frigates, ſeventeen fire-ſhips, and ſome tenders. *Van Nes* attacking him, a ſharp action enſued, eſpecially between the fire-ſhips; and there being but little wind, the *Engliſh*, by towing their ſhips, acted their parts ſo well, that (as the *Dutch* confeſs) they deſtroyed no leſs than eleven or twelve fire-ſhips, with the expence of but ſix or ſeven of their own: But, the wind ſtiffening, they were at laſt obliged, by the unequal force of the enemy, to retire under the cannon of *Tilbury-Fort*. Yet the next day, being *Wedneſday*, the *Engliſh*, by the means of their fire-ſhips, attacked the *Dutch* in their turn; and after a ſhort diſpute forced them to retreat, and ſet fire to their only fire-ſhip that was left, to prevent her being taken.

The loſs of their fire-ſhips, and the deſpair of reviving the ſcene of *Chatham*, made the enemies think of nothing more than how to rejoin their companions. Accordingly, on *Thurſday*-morning they ſet ſail, and with much difficulty got near the river's mouth; being followed at a diſtance by Sir *Edward Sprag* with his fire-ſhips *.

The next day, being in the mouth of the river, they were met by another *Engliſh* ſquadron,

* Leven van Tromp, p. 392.

dron, conſiſting of four or five frigates and fourteen fire-ſhips, which came from *Harwich*, to welcome them at their return. Theſe boldly attacked them, and immediately grappled the vice-admiral of *Zealand* and another of their men of war; but they both found means to eſcape the danger, tho' about an hundred of their men, thro' the fright, leaped over board, and were drowned. The rear-admiral of *Zealand*, being threatened with a fire-ſhip, and ſeeking to eſcape, ſtruck on the ground, and was ſo damaged, that, being no longer able to keep the Sea, ſhe was ſent home.

Theſe attempts of the enemy in the rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*, tho' favoured with ſome ſucceſs; yet, if conſidered in all their circumſtances, cannot perhaps eſcape the cenſure of raſhneſs. And 'tis probable that the ſtates would not have been very forward to run ſuch manifeſt hazards (contrary to the opinion of their experienced admiral *De Ruyter*) had they not been ſtrongly influenced by the counſels of the *De Wits*, whoſe hatred to the houſe of *Orange*, and the *Engliſh* nation, had qualified them to be made the tools of the *French* court: Which politick court, having formed deſigns againſt the *Spaniſh-Netherlands*, that might have proved prejudicial both to *Holland* and *England*, ſought nothing more than by ſuch attempts to cauſe a

laſting hatred and diſtruſt between thoſe two nations, which, after the concluſion of the war, were moſt concerned to unite and oppoſe them. And tho' the reſentment of the *Engliſh* court, occaſioned by the buſineſs of *Chatham*, was not ſo ſtrong as to prevent their entering into an alliance ſoon after with *Holland* and *Sweden*, in order to check thoſe ambitious deſigns of *France*; yet there is great reaſon to believe it was none of the leaſt motives which at laſt diſpoſed them to break that *Triple Alliance*: As may appear by the ſequel.

While the *Dutch* loitered before the river and at *Torbay*, without effecting any thing remarkable, the *Engliſh* found means by their privateers and a ſquadron of frigates, commanded by Sir *Jeremiah Smith*, in the *North*-Sea, abundantly to repair the damage ſuſtained at *Chatham*, by taking great * numbers of their merchant-ſhips, bound from the *Baltick* and *Norway*, as alſo from, and to *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal* and the *Streights*: And ſome *Engliſh* frigates took a man of war, called *Het Raadhuys van Haerlem*, which was going, with ſome others, to rejoin their fleet.

This proved the laſt action of the war. For on the 29th of *June*, 1667. the peace was concluded, and ſigned at *Breda*, after two general engagements, wherein the *Engliſh* were confeſs'd

* Levens der Zeehelden, tweede deel. p. 253.

confeſs'd to be victorious; and a third, wherein the victory appears to have been undecided; beſides the actions in the *Vlie*, and at *Chatham*, whereof the latter made the greater noiſe; but the former was, in itſelf, a far greater advantage. For, tho' the ruin of the town and ſhips was no profit to the *Engliſh*; yet the loſs the *Hollanders* ſuffered, on that occaſion, was, perhaps, more conſiderable than that of the *Engliſh*, during the whole courſe of this war.

By the treaty of peace, the *French* were obliged to reſtore all that they had taken from the *Engliſh* in the *Weſt-Indies*; and it was agreed, between the *Engliſh* and the *Hollanders*, that whatever forts or colonies were in the poſſeſſion of either party, before the 20th of *May*, (being the time when the treaty began) ſhould be kept; but that whatever might happen to be taken afterwards ſhould be reſtored. 'Twas likewiſe agreed, (for perpetuating the peace between the crown of *England* and the *Dutch* republick) That all offences, injuries, damages and loſſes, ſuſtained on either ſide, during this war, or at any time before, upon any pretence whatſoever, ſhould be totally expunged, and buried in oblivion. By this, and the foregoing article, the *Dutch* were allowed to keep poſſeſſion of *Amboina* and *Pooleroon*; and the *Engliſh* were confirmed in the poſſeſſion of *New-Netherland*, and

and whatever elſe they had taken by way of repriſal from the *Dutch*: But *Surinam*, which was retaken by Sir *John Harman*, after the 20th of *May*, was reſtored, by virtue of the latter clauſe of the foregoing article. In fine, to prevent all diſputes between the two *Eaſt-India Companies*, it was farther agreed, That commiſſioners ſhould meet, in order to regulate the *India*-trade to mutual ſatisfaction.

Such was the ſucceſs of this ſecond war of the *Engliſh* againſt *Holland*, aſſiſted by the confederate powers of *France* and *Denmark*; which was rendered the more remarkable by the incidents of the great contagion, and fire of *London*, wherein the prodigious loſs of people and treaſure was alone ſufficient to have ſunk the ſpirits of any nation leſs reſolved than the *Engliſh*.

The peace was followed by the *perpetual edict*, by which the office of ſtadt-holder was for ever aboliſhed within the *United Provinces*, and the captain or admiral-general obliged to ſwear never to accept it, if at any time it ſhould be offered by any of the provinces. It ſeems the faction of the *De Wits* found this the firſt favourable opportunity; having, till now, been prevented either by the power of the *Orange*-party, or by their fear of the king of *England*'s inclination to ſupport the intereſt of his nephew, the young prince.

Peace

Peace being reſtored to *Europe*, the naval war ſoon transferred itſelf into *Africa*. For, the *Algerines* having lately committed ſome hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects both of *England* and *Holland*, Sir *Thomas Allen* was ſent with a ſquadron in the year 1669, who block'd up *Algiers*, taking and deſtroying ſeveral of their ſhips.

In the mean time, ſix of thoſe *Corſairs*, from thirty-four to forty guns, being chaſed by a *Dutch*-ſquadron, under the command of *Van Ghent*, and retiring towards their own coaſt, would probably have eſcaped, had not four or five *Engliſh* frigates, under commadore *Beach*, come in to the aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, and, after a cloſe chaſe, obliged them to run a-ground: which ſituation, being attack'd by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in their boats, they were all taken, after being left by their men; and a great number of chriſtian ſlaves, of different nations, were releaſed. The *Engliſh* commadore preſented ſixteen *Dutch* ſlaves to *Van Ghent*, and received, by way of exchange, twenty *Engliſh*. But the ſhips, being leaky, were burnt.

The ſame year, ſome *Engliſh* frigates attack'd ſeven of the enemy's beſt ſhips near *Cape-Gaeta*. The admiral and vice-admiral of the *Barbarians* carried fifty-ſix guns each, the rear-admiral ſixty, and the leaſt of the reſt forty: But, after a ſharp fight, the vice-admiral

admiral was ſunk, and the reſt retired very much diſabled. And captain *Kempthorn*, (afterwards Sir *John*) being attack'd alone, by ſeven of thoſe *Corſairs*, defended himſelf ſo well, that he ſunk two or three, and put the reſt to flight.

The *Algerines* continuing obſtinate, Sir *Edward Sprag* appeared in the year 1670, before their capital, with a ſquadron of men of war and frigates; but having cruiſed ſome days, without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer to his demands, he ſailed from thence with ſix frigates and three fire-ſhips, to make an attempt on a conſiderable number of thoſe *Corſairs* which lay in the haven of *Bugia*. By the way, he loſt the company of two of his fire-ſhips; yet, not diſcouraged by this accident, he perſiſted in his reſolution. Being come before the place, he broke the boom at the entrance of the haven, forced the *Barbarians* a-ground and (notwithſtanding the fire of the caſtle) burnt ſeven of their ſhips from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes: After which he deſtroyed another of their ſhips of war near *Tadellis*.

Theſe and other misfortunes cauſed ſuch a tumult among the *Barbarians* that they murthered their *Dey*, and choſe another, by whom the peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction of the *Engliſh*, on the 9th of *December* in the ſame year.

Soon

Soon after this, there happened a third war with the *Dutch*, which had like to have proved fatal to their republick: In what manner, and upon what grounds, is now to be related.

In the ſummer of the year 1667, the *French* king, on pretence of the right of his queen, who was daughter to *Philip* IV. of *Spain*, (notwithſtanding his renunciation of all right and title to any part of the *Spaniſh* dominions by the *Pyrenean Treaty*) fell into the *Spaniſh-Netherlands* with a mighty army, ravaged ſeveral of the provinces, and took *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Aeth*, *Courtray* and *Liſle*, to the endangering of *Holland*. Whereupon, to prevent his further progreſs, the court of *England* entered into a ſtrict defenſive league with the *Dutch*, into which the king of *Sweden* being afterwards admitted, it was called the *Triple Alliance*. By this means, the *French* were ſtoped in their career, and a peace was concluded between the crowns of *France* and *Spain* at *Aix*, in the end of *April*, 1668.

The ſtates-general having been zealous in forming the *Triple Alliance* (as being more nearly concerned in the preſervation of the *Spaniſh-Netherlands* than any others) the *French* king, who found all his projects were broken by it, ſoon came to a reſolution to take his revenge on the *Dutch*. With this view, he ſet all his engines at work, to hinder the execution

execution of the alliance, and even (was it poſſible) to diſpoſe the court of *England* to come into his meaſures for humbling that nation. A plan of the deſign was communicated (as ſome ſuppoſe by the ducheſs of *Orleans*, king *Charles*'s ſiſter) and ſuch effectual means were uſed to induce the king to approve it, that at laſt the *French*, depending on the aſſiſtance of *England*, began to put the deſign in execution.

The firſt ſtep they took was the laying heavy impoſts on the *Dutch* commodities in *France*; which impoſts were continued, notwithſtanding all the complaints and remonſtrances of the ſtates. Hereupon, the ſtates prohibited the importation of *French* brandy and manufactures into the *United Provinces*; and taking umbrage at a rumour of the *French* king's deſign to march towards *Dunkirk* with a conſiderable army (which ſeemed to threaten *Dutch Flanders* and *Zealand*) they brought to Sea a powerful fleet to obſerve his motions, after having invited *England* to do the like.

This fleet lying before *Domburg* on their own coaſt, under the command of the admiral *Van Ghent*, it happened *Aug.* 12, 1671. that a yatch called the *Merlin*, with the king of *England*'s flag, ſailing from the *Maeſe* for *England*, paſſed, either deſignedly or by accident, through the midſt of them: To which the *Dutch* admiral refuſing to ſtrike, he

he was fired upon by the *Engliſh* captain. The want of reſpect to the royal flag was much reſented by the court of *England*, and the captain of the yatch was, at his return, rewarded with a gold chain, for ſo boldly vindicating the honour of the crown.

Yet perhaps this difference might eaſily have been accommodated, had not a rupture with *Holland* been already agreed on between the two crowns. For tho' this refuſal of the *Dutch* admiral to ſtrike was contrary to the meaning or intention of the treaties ſubſiſting between the nations (foraſmuch as ſtriking muſt be underſtood to be required as an honour to the flag, by what king's ſhip ſoever it be carried) yet the words of thoſe treaties ſeemed to require ſtriking only to men of war.

On occaſion of this difference, the *French* king offered his mediation; which was accepted by the ſtates. This offer, which ſeems to have been deſigned to render the *Dutch* ſecure, by removing their jealouſy of the *French* preparations by land, was not without its effect: So that the faction of the *De Wits*, (which ſtill ſate at the helm) appear to have been over-reached by much the ſame artifice they had uſed with king *Charles*; whom they firſt laid aſleep by a treaty of peace, after repeated proteſtations of their inclination to it, and averſion to war; and then,

took

took the opportunity to enter the river. What ſucceſs this fineneſs of the *French* had afterwards, when, attacking the *Dutch* by land, they made ſuch incredible progreſſes, may be ſeen in other authors: Our deſign confines us chiefly to the Sea.

About this time, a medal was ſtruck in *France*, expreſſing the deſigns and pretenſions of the two confederate kings, with regard to the projected war. On the one ſide, was repreſented the ſun drawing forth vapours from the bogs, with this motto, *Evexi ſed diſcutiam*; I have raiſed them, but will ſcatter them: reflecting on the ſervice formerly done the *Dutch*, by the arms of *France*, in helping to raiſe them to ſuch a pitch of grandeur; and likewiſe, the preſent deſign of *France* to humble them. On the reverſe, were the moon and ſea, with theſe words, *Mihi ſoli obtemperat Æquor*, Me alone the Sea obeys; denoting the ancient pretenſion of *England* to the ſovereignty of the adjacent Seas.

The *French* court, the more effectually to engage the king of *England* on their ſide, had, it ſeems, diſcovered a propoſal lately made to them by the penſioner *De Wit*, for forming a confederacy againſt *England*: Which double-dealing of the penſioner, joined with the king's reſentment of the late conduct of the *Dutch*, in the affair of *Chatham*, their want

want of reſpect to his flag, the *perpetual edict*, affronts from *Cornelius de Wit* and the rabble in *Holland*, the neglect of ſending commiſſioners for regulating the *Eaſt-India*-trade, as was ſtipulated in the late treaty of *Breda*, together with ſome ſecret intereſts and engagements, ſtruck thoſe ſparks, that afterwards produced ſo great a flame. Tho' ſome of theſe incentives were, perhaps, too much exaggerated by the penſioners, and emiſſaries of *France*; yet the *Engliſh* court thought proper to begin the war, without any formal declaration, as againſt people, who, by non-performance of articles, had made void the former treaties.

Sir *Robert Holms*, who began the repriſals which were the forerunners of the late war, was pitched upon to ſtrike the firſt ſtroke of this, by attacking the *Dutch Smyrna*, and *Lisbon-fleets*.

The *Dutch*, having ſome ſuſpicion of this deſign, had ſent out ſeveral veſſels to order thoſe fleets to avoid the *Channel*, and to return by the *North* of *Scotland*. But, when the firſt of thoſe advice-boats met them, they were already ſo far advanced, that 'twas judged very difficult, if not impoſſible, to change their courſe againſt the wind. They therefore reſolved to follow their courſe thro' the *Channel*, and, at the ſame time, to put themſelves into as good a poſture of defence as poſſible. Ac-

cordingly, the merchant-ſhips, being ſeventy-one, or (according to *Montanus*) eighty-two in number, convoyed by ſix men of war, after having thrown great quantities of goods over-board, to clear the decks, divided themſelves into three ſquadrons, each guarded by two men of war, and together forming a ſemi-circle or half-moon.

The ſuddenneſs of their approach was the cauſe, that they found the *Engliſh* unprovided; the ſquadron deſigned for the attack not being all ready. Only ſeven or eight frigates were in a condition to put to Sea: A force little ſuperior to the *Dutch* convoy. Yet with theſe 'twas reſolved to begin the attack, and, if poſſible, to diſorder and detain them, till a reinforcement could come up.

At the back of the iſle of *Wight*, March 13. 167½, the *Engliſh* with their ſmall ſquadron and three ketches, got ſight of the *Dutch*, who (as the *Engliſh* accounts ſay) neglected to ſtrike their flags, and lower their top-ſails, at the firing of the firſt ſhot; whereupon, Sir *Robert* fired a ſecond, upon which, they lowered their top-ſails; but ſtill refuſed to ſtrike their flags. In the mean time Sir *Robert* coming up with *Adrian de Haas*, a *Zealand* captain, who was commadore of the *Dutch* convoy, called to him to come on board: Which he refuſing, and ſending one of his under-officers in his ſtead, Sir *Robert* ſaluted him with

with a broad-ſide. Upon this, a ſharp engagement enſued between very unequal parties. My lord *Oſſory* engaged another *Dutch* captain, called *Du Bois*; and the reſt fell on, where they ſaw the beſt advantage, ſtriving with their utmoſt force and skill to diſorder the *Dutch* ſquadrons. The convoys, on the contrary, did their beſt, and the merchant-ſhips (among which were many that were well furniſhed with cannon, and as fit for battery, as moſt of the *Engliſh* frigates) encouraged by the weakneſs of the aſſailants, were not backward to ſecond their convoys. The combat (which reſembled that of the ſword-fiſh and the whale) laſted with great fury above two hours, till about an hour paſt ſun-ſet, when the darkneſs put an end to it, after the *Dutch* commadore, *De Haas*, had been killed by Sir *Robert*.

The following day, the *Engliſh* being reinforced by four other frigates, and a ketch or two, renewed the fight. Sir *Robert* again attack'd the ſhip of *De Haas*, which was commanded by the ſecond captain: And my lord *Oſſory* boarded *Du Bois*, who, upon that occaſion, loſt his left hand. But the *Engliſh*, having to do with ſuch multitudes, could gain no conſiderable advantage that morning. Sir *Robert*, however, not being eaſily diſcouraged, and reſolving, tho' wounded, not altogether to loſe his errand, made a third

and more deſperate attack in the afternoon, with eight ſhips; which were then his whole force, the reſt having been ſent home diſabled. This laſt effort ſucceeded ſo well, that he cut off from the line a man of war of fifty-four guns, which he boarded and took, after a ſtout reſiſtance, the captain himſelf, and many of his men, being killed in the action. But the *Prize*, having received ſeveral ſhots under-water, ſunk ſoon after. Then attacking the merchant-ſhips that were neareſt, he took two, very richly laden, from *Smyrna* and *Meſſina*, together with two or three others of leſs value. But, this being after ſun-ſet, the *Engliſh* could reap no more fruit of the advantage they had gained; and the *Dutch* found means to eſcape, by favour of the night.

On this occaſion, *Montanus*, a noted *Dutch* hiſtorian, tells us, That his countrymen gained much honour, by having ſo bravely defended themſelves againſt ſeventeen ſtout *Engliſh* ſhips. It ſeems, he reckons the ketches, to make up the number. It muſt, however, be confeſs'd, that the *Dutch* behaved themſelves very well, and that the *Engliſh* ſuffered conſiderably in this bold action. But *Montanus* miſtakes, in ſaying, my lord *Oſſory* was killed: For 'tis well known, that he outlived the war, of which this action was but a beginning.

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The ill-humour of the *Engliſh* court, with regard to the *Dutch*, was ſoon after increaſed by news from the *Eaſt-Indies*. For the *Engliſh-Company*, having laid out great ſums in preſents to the court of *Japan*, loſt their money, and failed of a ſhare in that profitable trade, through the repreſentations of the *Dutch-Company*, importing, that king *Charles* had married the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, and entered into an alliance with that nation, which, of all others, is the moſt odious to the *Japaneſe*.

The attack of the *Dutch Smyrna*, and *Lisbon* fleets, was ſoon followed by a declaration of war on the ſide of *England*, partly founded on the reaſons above-mentioned; and this was followed by another declaration, on the part of *France*.

War being declared, the preparations, on both ſides, were made with all poſſible diligence. The *Dutch*, partly to be the ſooner ready, and partly to prevent the loſs of ſo many rich merchant-ſhips, as were taken in the firſt war, were again content to forbid all trade, to the great impoveriſhment of the country.

In *England*, tho' the court were very zealous for proſecuting the war, with the utmoſt vigour; yet the people in general were averſe to it. They were jealous of the growing ambition of *France*, and foreſaw that the ruin of *Holland* would equally tend to the weaken-

ing of the proteſtant intereſt, and the increaſe of the *French* power. This was the cauſe that ſeveral of the braveſt and moſt experienced officers, who had ſignalized themſelves in the former wars, either declined the ſervice or engaged in it very unwillingly; And ſuch notions, being ſpread among the common Sea-men, cauſed the ſervice in general to become odious.

As, by theſe incidents, the *Engliſh* Sea-forces were rendered leſs formidable in themſelves, ſo they became yet weaker by being joined with allies, who were not only novices in Sea-fights, but had too limited a commiſſion: For, it ſeems, the *French* court, on the account of their great ſucceſſes by land, looking upon *Holland* as a certain conqueſt, gave no orders to their ſquadron to ſecond the *Engliſh*, as was expected; being content rather that the *Engliſh* ſhould be loſers, than that the *Dutch*-fleet, which they almoſt counted as their own, ſhould ſuffer.

There was likewiſe one incident, which rendered the *Dutch* ſtronger at Sea than could have been imagined. 'Tis well known that the party of the *De Wits* had at this time the management of affairs in the *United Provinces*. Thoſe *De Wits* were ſworn enemies to the houſe of *Orange*, chiefly in revenge of their father *Jacob De Wit*'s impriſonment in the houſe of *Loeveſtein*; from whence their faction

faction took the name of the *Loeveſtein Party*. Wherefore, the young prince of *Orange* being in the beginning of this war placed at the head of the army, thoſe politick gentlemen are ſaid to have adviſed the ſtrengthening of the Sea-forces, to the weakening of the army, with deſign to expoſe the young prince to ſome diſgrace, upon his entering on his command *.

During this war, was clearly ſeen the vaſt growth of the riches and power of the *United Provinces*, ſince the infant ſtate of their republick. For whereas in the time of *William* I. of *Orange*, they could not have credit for fourteen thouſand guilders, but upon promiſe of repaying double the ſum; and were forced to pawn the bells of the *Hague* on another occaſion, for raiſing the ſum of fifteen hundred guilders; yet 'tis computed that, in this dangerous ſtate of their affairs, they raiſed yearly no leſs than ſixty millions of guilders, or about five millions and an half ſterling.

The *Engliſh* fleet, being ready, was ſoon after joined by a *French* ſquadron under command of the count *D' Eſtrees*. The confederates were divided into three ſquadrons, *viz.* the *Red* commanded by the duke of *York* as chief-admiral, in the center, the *White* (or *French* ſquadron) under the count *D' Eſtrees* vice-admiral of *France*, on the right, and the



* Montanus in her Leven van *Will. Hendrik*, p. 133.

*Blue* under the earl of *Sandwich* on the left.

There is a great difference among the *Dutch* hiſtorians, in their accounts of the ſtrength of both parties. *Montanus* tells us that the *Engliſh* had alone an hundred and ſixteen ſhips, moſt of them large, beſides twenty-four ketches; and that the *French* were forty-eight ſail of ſtout ſhips *. This author, it ſeems, to make up a number, reckons men of war and fire-ſhips, victuallers and hoſpital-ſhips, without diſtinction. But monſ. *De Neufville*, in his hiſtory of *Holland*, ſays the *Engliſh* had but ſixty-five men of war, and the *French* thirty-ſix, beſides twenty-two fire-ſhips: Which agrees with the *Engliſh* account.

The *Hollanders* (according to *Montanus*) had no more than ſeventy-five ſail of men of war, twenty-three fire-ſhips and fourteen yatches. But the author of *Tromp's* life, (who writ ſince, and was either more ſincere or better informed) ſays they had ninety-one men of war, forty-four fire-ſhips and twenty-three yatches; being in all an hundred fifty-eight ſail. And 'tis remarkable, that tho' another noted *Dutch* author † thinks fit to follow the report of the *Engliſh* being an hundred and ſixteen men of war, and the *Dutch* but ſeventy-four or five, yet he makes the number of guns almoſt equal; that of the *Engliſh* being

* Leven van *Will. Hendrik.*
† Zeehelden p. 266.

ing four thouſand ninety-two, and that of the *Dutch* four thouſand twenty-nine.

The confederate fleet lying at anchor in *Souldbay*, *May* 27, 1672. the wind *N. E.* a ſtiff gale, 'tis credibly reported, that the earl of *Sandwich* being, with the other flag-officers, invited to an entertainment a-board the duke of *York*'s ſhip, took the liberty, in the midſt of their jollitry, to ſay, That the fleet was in danger of being ſurprized, as the wind then ſtood, and that therefore 'twas his opinion, that they ought to weigh anchor, and put out to Sea: Whereupon, the duke, by a ſudden reply, ſeeming to reflect on this caution of the earl, as the effect of fear, 'tis ſaid, it cauſed in him ſuch a reſentment, as was ſuppoſed to have occaſioned the loſs both of himſelf and his ſhip in the following engagement.

The event, however, ſoon diſcovered the prudence of the earl's advice: For the following day, between two and three in the morning, the ſcout-ſhips, by firing their cannon, gave notice of the enemy's approach. Whereupon, the confederates, cutting their cables, ranged themſelves in as good order as the time would permit. The reſolution of the earl of *Sandwich* (who ſailed almoſt alone to keep off the enemy) joined with a ſudden calm, ſaved the fleet; which otherwiſe would have been endangered by the fire-ſhips. So that we may ſay of this noble earl, that

as

as he was the chief cauſe of the defeat given to the *Hollanders* in the firſt fight of the ſecond war; ſo he was a principal occaſion of preventing the ruin of the *Engliſh* and *French* in this remarkable engagement, which was the firſt of the third war. But this his faithfulneſs to his prince and country, joined with his reſentment of the late affront, proved fatal to himſelf; as may appear by the ſequel.

*Souldbay*, the theatre on which this naval tragedy was acted, has *Holland* to the *South-Eaſt*, and lies extended *North* and *South*. On the *North* it inclines to the *Eaſt*, and on the *South* to the *Weſt*, in ſuch a manner, that the *French*, who lay to the *South*, had more Sea-room than the *Blue*-ſquadron, which lay to the *North*.

The *Dutch*, who were likewiſe divided into three ſquadrons, under command of *De Ruyter*, having the advantage of the wind, which, after the calm, was become *South-Eaſt*, began the engagement between ſeven and eight in the morning. *De Ruyter*'s ſquadron, which was in the center, attack'd the *Red*, commanded by his royal highneſs the duke; who was engaged with him, ſhip to ſhip, about two hours. *Bunkert*, who led the van, acted againſt the *White*, or *French*-ſquadron, under *D'Eſtrees*; and *Van Ghent* againſt the *Blue*, under the earl of *Sandwich*.

The

The earl, being advanced ſomewhat before the others with his brave ſhip, the *Royal James*, carrying a hundred guns, and about eight hundred men, and interpoſing himſelf between his, yet diſordered, ſquadron and the enemy, was firſt attack'd by captain *Brakel* (the ſame that began the attack at *Chatham*) who with his ſhip, *Great Holland*, of ſixty guns, followed by a fire-ſhip, ſailed out of *De Ruyter*'s ſquadron, and was ſoon ſeconded by the whole ſquadron of *Van Ghent*. *Brakel*, depending on the aſſiſtance of his friends, (who, coming off before the wind, could better relieve him, than the *Engliſh* could the earl againſt the wind) ſailed up boldly, and grappled his ſhip faſt to the *Royal James*. While the earl was encountering *Brakel*, he was attack'd by *Van Ghent*, with others of the enemy's men of war and fire-ſhips, againſt all which, he defended himſelf, at leaſt, two hours, killing *Van Ghent*, admiral of the enemy's ſquadron *, ſinking three fire-ſhips, and a man of war, that would have laid him aboard on the other ſide; and at laſt, having diſengaged himſelf from *Brakel*'s ſhip, (which he had reduced to the ſtate of a wreck, making himſelf maſter above decks, wounding *Brakel*, killing and wounding almoſt all his officers, and above two thirds of his men) 'tis conceived he might have made an honourable

* Montanus in her Leven van *Will. Hend.* p. 245.

nourable retreat, and have rejoined his ſquadron. But his great ſoul, it ſeems, being not able to forget his yeſterday's affront, and ſcorning to live after ſo publick a reflection on his honour, he ſtill continued the unequal combat, tho' not well ſeconded by his ſquadron: For Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, his vice-admiral, with ſeveral others, inſtead of relieving him, as they might have done, ſailed to the *Red*, to aſſiſt the duke of *York*, who about this time was baſely deſerted by the *French*. Having thus defended himſelf till noon, *and given* (as a certain *Dutch* hiſtorian expreſſes it) *the utmoſt proofs of unfortunate valour*, a fourth fire-ſhip, covered by the ſmoak of the enemy, grappled the *Royal James* and ſet her in a flame. As for the earl himſelf, being unwilling to leave his ſhip, whilſt there was the leaſt hope of ſaving her, he was left almoſt alone to encounter the fire and the enemy: Which having done for ſome time in vain, leaping through the flames into the Sea, he ended his life, to his immortal honour, and to the great regret of his country.

Thus revenged fell the brave earl of *Sandwich*, a man of no leſs wiſdom than courage; who had ſhewn his abilities not only in the war but in the cabinet, having with equal praiſe diſcharged the offices of admiral and ambaſſador. His body disfigured by the flames was found by the *Engliſh*, and honourably interred

terred in king *Henry* VII's chapel at the publick expence.

'Tis ſaid, that, during this engagement, three ſailors, belonging to the *Royal James*, ran up to the main-top-maſt-head of *Brakel's* ſhip and took down his pendant; but that *Brakel* in the mean time being diſengaged, by getting looſe the grappling irons, they remained aboard and were made priſoners.

The reſpect due to the memory of ſo great a man, as the earl of *Sandwich*, obliges me here to take notice of a calumny of ſome *Dutch* hiſtorians, who inform us that, finding himſelf gaul'd by *Brakel's* cannon, he would have delivered up his ſhip, had *Brakel* carried a flag. But as this would have been very different from all the actions of his life, ſo 'tis abundantly confuted by the obſtinate defence he afterwards made againſt *Van Ghent*, to whom (as being a flag-officer) he might have ſurrendered with leſs diſhonour, had he been ſo inclined.

But to proceed. The death of their admiral (who was killed by the earl of *Sandwich*) together with the furious attack of part of the earl's ſquadron *, which (tho' too late) came in to his reſcue, cauſed ſoon after ſuch confuſion in the ſquadron of *Van Ghent*, that they held off and left the engagement for a conſiderable time: Which gave opportunity

* Leven van *De Ruyter*. *De Neufville*, p. 2. l. 5. ch. 8.

opportunity to the *Blue*-ſquadron to join the *Red*, and to aſſiſt the duke of *York*, who (after he was abandoned by the *French*) was in danger of being oppreſſed by two of the enemy's ſquadrons under *De Ruyter* and *Bankert*. On this occaſion, * *Cornelius Evertſon*, the admiral of *Zealand*, was killed, and *De Ruyter* and *Allemonde* narrowly eſcaped being burnt by the fire-ſhips. But, *Van Ghent*'s ſquadron coming at laſt to their aſſiſtance, the fight went on with greater fury.

In the mean time, the *French* (who, as was ſaid, compoſed the *White*-ſquadron) inſtead of ſeconding the efforts of the *Engliſh*, ſtill kept aloof, and left them to encounter the whole force of the enemy with the diſadvantage of two to three. But, notwithſtanding this vaſt inequality of numbers, the *Dutch* hiſtorians agree that the fight was maintained with great fury till night. Towards the end of the fight, great havock was made among the enemy's fire-ſhips, of which five or ſix (as the *Dutch* themſelves relate) were deſtroyed by one *Engliſh* man of war. At laſt, the whole *Dutch* fleet being ſcattered and in diſorder, and Sir *Joſeph Jordan* with the *Blue*-ſquadron getting the wind of them, *De Ruyter*'s ſhip was in great danger of being taken or burnt: But being got looſe from the fire-ſhip which grappled her, that admiral took the opportunity to draw

* Levens der Zeehelden tweede deel p. 266.

draw together his fleet, and (by the confeſſion of the *Dutch* hiſtorian who writ his life) firſt quitted the place of battle, and ſailed to the *Northward* *.

This makes me juſtly admire at a certain *Engliſh* writer †, who informs us that the fight ended about noon, after the *Engliſh* had gotten the weather-gage of the *Dutch*.

Notwithſtanding what hath been ſaid, ſeveral of the *Dutch* hiſtorians boaſt of the advantage, becauſe (as they report) the *Engliſh* (who were to the windward) did not renew the fight the next day. An inſinuation too frivolous, conſidering the behaviour of the *French*, the day before.

But the *Engliſh*, with much more reaſon, may challenge the honour of the day, not only becauſe their enemy left them maſters of the place of battle, but likewiſe becauſe (as the *Dutch* themſelves confeſs) they took and carried off a man of war, called *Staveren*; whereas the *Dutch* could ſhew no token of victory. For tho' they ſay they took poſſeſſion of the *Catharine*, which, being leaky and in diſtreſs, had made the ſignal for help, yet the leaks by their aſſiſtance being ſtopped, they confeſs the *Engliſh*, who were left on board, retook and carried her ſafe to *England* ||.

The

* Leven van *De Ruyter* in Fol. p. 675.
† *Coke's* Detections, p. 481.
|| Leven van *De Ruyter*.

The lateſt *Dutch* hiſtorians make the loſs of the *Engliſh* in this battle not to exceed four or five men of war (which account ſeems to be the truth) and confeſs the loſs of three of their own; *viz.* the *Joſhua* captain *Dik* ſunk, the *Weſtergo* burnt, and the *Staveren* captain *Elzevier* taken, with one ruined, viz. *Great Holland*, the ſhip of *Brakel*. As for the *French*, it ſeems that, notwithſtanding their caution, they loſt two men of war, one of which was burnt and the other ſunk, and had their rear-admiral, monſieur *De la Rabeniere*, killed.

But ſome of the *Dutch* authors (who writ about the time of the war) confeſs the loſs of but one of their own men of war, *viz.* the *Joſhua*, and give an account of a ſomewhat greater loſs, on the ſide of the confederates. This they ſeem to have taken up on the credit of common-fame, which, at that time and the following year, ſpoke loudly of advantages gained at Sea, to make ſome amends for their ill ſucceſs by land, and thereby to keep up the ſinking ſpirits of the people †. For, 'tis particularly remarkable, that the news of this battle came juſt at the time when the *Hollanders* were in the utmoſt conſternation, by reaſon of the loſs of *Weſel*, *Orſoy*, *Burik*, *Rees*, *Emmerik*, and *Rhynberg*; the laſt of which was judged to be of ſuch importance, that the penſioner *De Wit*, on the news of its

† *De Neufville* p. 2. l. 5. ch. 8.

its ſurrender, is reported by *Montanus* to have burſt out in theſe words, *Is Rhynberg ſurrendered! Then half the country is loſt. There is no other way but to agree with* France *as well as we can.*

Nothing can give a juſter idea of this engagement than the teſtimony of the *Dutch* admiral *De Ruyter*, who (according to the letter of *Cornelius De Wit* to the ſtates) declared, that he had never been in ſo continual and obſtinate a fight, as happened on the ſide of the *Engliſh* *.

When the news of this action reached the *Hague*, tho' the ſtates thought fit to countenance the report of a victory, (following therein the advice of *De Wit*, rather than that of *De Ruyter*) yet they made no publick rejoycings; but finding themſelves ſore preſſed both by Land and Sea, they reſolved to diſpatch ambaſſadors to the king of *England*, to ſue for peace. Theſe ſet out, about the middle of *June*, for *London*: But, their propoſals being rejected, they ſoon returned. The demands inſiſted on by the king (beſides the honour to be paid to his flag, not only by ſingle ſhips, but likewiſe by whole fleets) were, A million of pounds *Sterling*, for reparation of damages, and the charges of the war: Ten thouſand pounds a year for the liberty of fiſhing on the *Britiſh* coaſt: The ſovereignty of



* Brief van Cornelius De Wit in het Leven van Tromp.

ſuch of the *United Provinces* as were not demanded by the confederate kings (or, at leaſt, the offices of perpetual ſtadt-holder, captain and admiral-general) for the prince of *Orange*, and his male iſſue: A ſhare of the whole *Eaſt-India* trade: The poſſeſſion of the city of *Sluys* in *Flanders*; and the iſlands of *Cadzant*, *Walcheren*, *Goeree* and *Voorn*.

On the fruitleſs return of the ambaſſadors, the common people in *Holland* (eſpecially at *Dort*, *Leyden*, *Delft*, *Tergouw* and *Haerlem*) were all tumult and confuſion. The rich ſent their moſt valuable goods to *England*, *Hamburgh*, and other places: And the general outcry was, That their governors were betrayers of their country, and the cauſes of all its misfortunes. Nor could the people be in any meaſure appeaſed, till the ſtates of *Holland* and *Zealand* declared the young prince of *Orange* ſtadt-holder, admiral, and general of thoſe two provinces; and the ſtates-general (tho' much againſt the mind of the *De Wits*) repealed the *perpetual edict*, and conſtituted him general and admiral of all the other provinces. This was looked upon as the laſt and only means of reſtoring their affairs.

About this time, the credit of the province of *Holland* (which had been the moſt flouriſhing in *Europe*) was become ſo low, that their

their bonds were diſcounted at the rate of 70 *per Cent.* loſs.

Mean while, the confederates (who had taken above eighty ſtrong towns and forts, and extended their conqueſts, by land, into all the provinces, except only *Zealand)* appeared with their fleet on the coaſt of the laſt mentioned province (which, if conquered, was to have fallen to the ſhare of *England)* with intention to make a deſcent. Here they found the *Dutch* fleet: But, not thinking proper to attack them among their ſands, they deferred the execution of their deſign, and proceeded to block up the *Maeſe* and *Texel*; hoping by that means to draw the *Hollanders* from their advantage.

Coming before the *Texel*, they formed a deſign againſt the iſland of that name; but the execution is ſaid to have been prevented by an extraordinary ebb, which laſted twelve hours, to the admiration of all intelligent ſeamen: The ebb is likewiſe ſaid to have been followed by a ſtorm, which did ſome damage to the fleet.

After having for ſome time alarmed the coaſt, they had the fortune to take an *Eaſt-India* advice-ſhip, coming from *Ceylon*, with a conſiderable lading. By this means, having gotten intelligence, that fourteen *Dutch Eaſt-India* ſhips were on their way home, they poſted

themſelves near the *Doggerſand*, with deſign to intercept them. But neither would this deſign ſucceed; for the *Eaſt-India*-men found means to eſcape into the river *Ems*. On the contrary, a *Zealand* caper took an *Engliſh Eaſt-India*-ſhip, called the *Falcon*, and carried her into *Bergen*.

While the confederate fleet was thus braving it on the coaſt, the diſtractions, among the people in *Holland*, revived and increaſed. The Sea-officers upbraided † each other with cowardice, and neglect of duty. And even the extraordinary ſervices of *De Ruyter* could hardly ſecure him from the rage of the ungrateful rabble; who accuſed him, as a betrayer of his country. On the 17th of *Auguſt*, the rage of the people roſe to that degree of madneſs, that they attempted to plunder and demoliſh the houſe of that brave patriot, who had ever been the firmeſt pillar of the ſtate: And, could they have ſeized his perſon, 'tis probable, their country would the next year have wanted a deliverer. This happened at *Amſterdam*: But at the *Hague*, where the innocence of the perſons accuſed was leſs clear, the popular diſcontent and fury became more general, and the event fatal. The penſioner, *John de Wit*, had long been at the head of a party, which, tho' moſt powerful in the ſtate, had always found ſtrong oppoſition

† Hiſtoire de Holland, par Monſ. de Neufville.

oppoſition from the body of the people: Inſomuch, that even when his miniſtry was attended with ſucceſs, both himſelf and his brother met with ſeveral affronts and mortifications. 'Twas therefore no difficult matter to foreſee, that any conſiderable misfortune would precipitate that fall, which ſucceſs could hardly prevent. But that his fall ſhould be attended with ſo tragical a fate, both of himſelf and his brother, was matter of ſurprize to all the world.

In this dangerous conjuncture, a reſolution was taken by the ſtates, to leave no means unattempted, but to make their utmoſt efforts to reſcue their diſtreſs'd country. In the mean time, the *Zealanders* declared, That if all endeavours ſhould prove vain, they would rather embrace the *Engliſh Liberty*, than ſubmit to the *French Yoke*: Which had they done (by a voluntary ſurrender of their province to the crown of *England*) 'tis probable, that the acquiſition of the other provinces would have been no very conſiderable addition to the greatneſs of *France*.

But to proceed. The endeavours of the confederates, to draw the *Dutch* fleet from the coaſt of *Zealand*, having been without ſucceſs, they ſoon after returned to the coaſt of *England*, and the *Hollanders* retired into their ports: And thus ended the naval tranſactions of this year in *Europe*.

The contending parties were not idle in other parts of the world. Sir *Tobias Bridges*, with five or ſix ſhips and a regiment of foot from *Barbadoes*, made himſelf maſter of the iſland of *Tobago*, taking about four hundred priſoners and five hundred ſlaves. On the other ſide, the *Dutch* with five or ſix hundred men poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland *St. Helena*, lying off the coaſt of *Africa*: For, the fort not being defenſible, on the land-ſide, the *Engliſh* governor and his people, after having ſeveral times repulſed the enemy, retired with all their moſt valuable effects on board ſome *Engliſh* and *French* ſhips, as finding it impoſſible to preſerve the iſland after their landing. But commadore *Mondy* being ſent with four men of war to convoy the *Engliſh Eaſt-India*-fleet, and perceiving, on his arrival at *St. Helena*, what had happened, reſolved to attempt to retake it. He was the rather induced to take this reſolution, for want of freſh water. Accordingly, landing ſome men on that ſide of the iſland which is moſt acceſſible, and at the ſame time attacking the fort with his ſhips, he eaſily ſucceeded in his deſign. The iſland being thus retaken, it ſerved the *Engliſh* as a net to incloſe and take the enemy's ſhips. For a *Dutch Eaſt-India* ſhip called the *Europa*, coming to *St Helena* with a new governor on board, was ſeized. And ſoon after, ſix others appearing in ſight

ſight of the iſland, the *Engliſh* commadore, the better to confirm them in the opinion, that their countrymen were ſtill in poſſeſſion, cauſed the *Dutch* flag to be diſplayed from the fort: Which ſtratagem had ſo good effect, that, the *Eaſt-India* ſhips approaching nearer, their vice-admiral and rear-admiral were taken with great riches; as would the others likewiſe have been, had not the *Engliſh* diſcovered themſelves ſomewhat too ſoon. On the other ſide, the *Hollanders*, who attempted the iſland *Bombay*, were beaten off with great loſs. But near *Maſalpatnam*, thirteen *Dutch* men of war and ſome other veſſels being ſomewhat raſhly engaged by ten *Engliſh* men of war and merchant-ſhips, there happened a long and bloody fight, which ended with the death of the *Dutch* vice-admiral, *John Frederikſon*, and the loſs of three *Engliſh* merchant-ſhips.

But to return to *Europe*. In the beginning of *May* 1673, the *Dutch* fleet being as good as ready for the defence of their coaſts, a letter was written by the young prince of *Orange*, their admiral-general, exhorting the officers and ſailors freely to ſpend their blood in the cauſe of liberty: Which letter ſeems not to have altogether failed of producing its effect.

In *England*, tho' nothing was neglected by the court to bring a formidable fleet to Sea, yet they met with great difficulties from the

parliament, of which, at leaſt, two thirds had declared themſelves for *Holland* againſt *France*: And the greateſt part of the people, following the ſentiments of the parliament, ſeemed very averſe to a war, wherein only the *Engliſh* were to fight, and the *French* to conquer.

The delay, occaſioned by theſe diviſions, encouraged the *Hollanders* to try an experiment. Having provided ſeveral veſſels laden with ſtones, they came with deſign to ſink them in the narrow part of the *Thames*; but finding the *Engliſh* better upon their guard, than at the time of the expedition to *Chatham*, they were forced to return without attempting it.

Upon the death of the earl of *Sandwich*, Sir *Edward Sprag* had been appointed to ſucceed him, as admiral of the *Blue*: As a match for whom, the admiral *Tromp* (who had been for ſome time diſmiſs'd the ſervice of the ſtates, on account of a miſunderſtanding between him and *De Ruyter*, occaſioned by the defeat of the *Hollanders* in the laſt general engagement of the former war) was reſtored to his command in the room of *Van Ghent*, who was killed by my lord *Sandwich*.

Three general fights in one ſummer, the following year, made this third war remarkable for the number, tho' not for the importance of engagements. We ſhall, however, give

give a particular relation of thoſe actions, becauſe it appears that ſome of the *Dutch* writers have very much impoſed upon the world by their accounts of them.

Sir *Edward Sprag* being ſent to *France* in the beginning of the year 1673, with the character of envoy-extraordinary, adjuſted the orders to be obſerved upon the conjunction of the *Engliſh* and *French* fleets, and at the ſame time renewed the treaty with that crown. Whereupon, the fleets being at laſt ready, the conjunction was made, and a body of troops taken on board. The deſign was, as before, to make, if poſſible, a deſcent on the coaſt of *Zealand*.

In the mean time, the king of *Sweden*, ſeeing the ill condition to which the ſtates were reduced, and apprehending the conſequences of a total ruin of the *Dutch* republick, offered his mediation by his ambaſſadors, earneſtly inſiſting on a ceſſation of arms between *England* and *Holland*. But, the propoſal being rejected, the ambaſſadors returned home.

'Twas the 22d of *May*, when the confederate fleet came in ſight of the *Dutch*; who, apprehending their deſign, had poſted themſelves on the coaſt of *Zealand*. The *Dutch* lay extended in a line at a place called *Schoonevelt*, being an advantageous poſt between two dangerous banks or ſhelves of ſand, called

*Rand*

*Rand* and *Steenbank.* But the confederates having found opportunity, under favour of the miſty weather, to ſound the depth of water thereabouts, 'twas at laſt reſolved in a council of war to attack them, notwithſtanding all diſadvantages. Yet, being hindered, firſt by a calm, and afterwards by a ſtorm, they could not come to an engagement till the 28th, being the ſame day of the month on which the fight of *Souldbay* had happened the year before.

The confederate fleet was compoſed of eighty-four men of war and frigates, beſides fire-ſhips, making in all about an hundred and ten ſail; of which, as at *Souldbay*, the *French* were about a third part: But the *Engliſh*, to prevent, as much as poſſible, any ill conſequence, refuſed to let them now engage in a body, or as a ſeparate ſquadron, and diſperſed them in diviſions throughout the whole fleet.

The firſt ſquadron of the confederates, *viz.* the *Red*, was commanded by prince *Rupert*, as chief-admiral. The ſecond, being the *White*, by the count *D' Eſtrees*, as vice-admiral, and the third, the *Blue*, by Sir *Edward Sprag*, as rear-admiral. The *Dutch* fleet, which, it ſeems, conſiſted but of about ſeventy men of war and frigates, beſides fire-ſhips, (ſeveral men of war which were deſigned to reinforce it being wanting) was divided in like manner into

to

to three ſquadrons under *De Ruyter*, *Tromp*, and *Banckert*.

The count *D' Eſtrees* with the *White*-ſquadron, having the advantage of the wind, began the engagement, which afterwards proved very obſtinate and furious. The vice-admiral *Schram* of *Tromp*'s ſquadron was killed; as was likewiſe the rear-admiral *Vlug* of *Banckert*'s ſquadron, with ſeveral of the enemy's captains. *Tromp*'s ſhip, the *Golden Lion*, was much diſabled, having above an hundred men killed and wounded, as appears by his ſecond letter to the ſtates. She was likewiſe in great danger of being burnt by a fire-ſhip, directed by Sir *William Reeves*. Captain *Leg* of prince *Rupert*'s ſquadron boarded and took the ſhip *Jupiter*; but, while the *Engliſh* were buſied with plundering, ſhe was retaken. Theſe are all the particulars of the fight that can be collected with certainty.

At laſt, the *Hollanders*, by the furious attack of Sir *Edward Sprag*, ſeconded by the other ſquadrons, were (according to prince *Rupert*'s letter) obliged to retreat ſo far among the ſands, that the confederates could not purſue them, without the utmoſt danger, eſpecially, in the dark. Being therefore obliged to hold off, for fear of the ſands, this gave encouragement to the enemy to venture out again, and poſſeſs the place of battle.

The

The firſt letters of *Tromp* and *De Ruyter* contain nothing remarkable; only they agree, that the fight laſted till about ten o'clock at night, and, that nothing but the darkneſs, parted the fleets. But their ſecond letters, which were written ſome days after, ſpeaking of the loſs of the confederates, cannot eaſily be reconciled. *Tromp* informed the ſtates, That he ſuppos'd, the confederates had loſt eleven or twelve ſhips, beſides fire-ſhips, which were many. But *De Ruyter* (who was uſually more modeſt in his accounts) ſaid, in his letter, dated two days later than that of *Tromp*, That he was told, the enemy had loſt thirteen or fourteen ſhips, inclnding the fire-ſhips; but could give no certain account of any men of war they had loſt, except two *French*, which, he ſaid, were ſunk: To which, the *Journal* of *Tromp*'s ſhip adds an *Engliſh* frigate of forty guns. So that, upon the whole, it appears, that no certain account is pretended to be given, of more than two men of war, and a frigate, loſt on the ſide of the confederates.

The loſs of the *Hollanders*, (according to their own writers) was five or ſix fire-ſhips, but no man of war.

On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* (who loſt no conſiderable officer) affirm, That not one of their men of war was miſſing, and but few fire-ſhips. But they agree with the *Dutch*, in

in their account of the loſs of the two *French* men of war before-mentioned: So that if the *Hollanders* gained any advantage, it was only againſt the *French*; unleſs it may be reckoned an advantage to have poſſeſſed the place of battle, when 'twas occaſioned merely by their enemy's fear of the ſands, and not either by flight or any conſtrained retreat.

The night after the battle, the *Dutch*-ſhip *Deventer* (which, with ſeveral others, was much diſabled, and towed out of the fleet) ſunk before the *Wielings*, and, of ſixty-five wounded men and an hundred and ſix others, but few were ſaved.

The next day, the two fleets, which were ſtill near each other, were alike employed in repairing their damage. But the wind coming about to the *Weſt* was the reaſon that the confederates could not ſend home their wounded men. This, together with the number of ſoldiers with which they were embarraſs'd, prevented their taking the advantage of the wind to renew the fight. In the mean time, the *Dutch*, being ſo near their coaſt, were reinforced by ſeveral men of war, in the room of ſuch as had been diſabled, and plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries: Whereas the confederates received no new reinforcement nor ſupplies.

Theſe circumſtances, it ſeems, were not unknown to the *Dutch*. Wherefore, on the

4th

4th of *June*, the wind veering about to the *North-Eaſt*, with a ſtiff gale, they had the boldneſs to leave their ſands, and to come off upon the confederates. This conduct was ſomewhat unuſual: For, from the firſt action againſt the *Engliſh*, in theſe Seas, *Anno* 1652, till this time, they had ſeldom voluntarily engaged out of ſight of their coaſt; nor had they ever been the aggreſſors, in any one conſiderable fight, except twice, when they had the fortune to ſurprize the *Engliſh*, firſt in the *Downs*, in the time of *Blake*, and then in *Souldbay*, the former year.

About noon, they began to approach the confederates: Who, to draw them farther from their ſands into the wide Sea, (thereby to avoid the diſadvantages of the firſt day) went under-ſail towards the *Engliſh* coaſt. At laſt, the confederates having gained their point, the battle began about five in the evening, in the ſame order as before.

*De Ruyter* (as appears by prince *Rupert*'s letter to my lord *Arlington*) ſeemed, at firſt, to deſign a cloſe engagement with the prince; but, before he came within musket-ſhot, he tack'd, and bore away: Which made the prince imagine he had ſuffered ſome conſiderable damage. Sir *Edward Sprag*, being engaged with *Tromp*, made ſo great a fire, that he obliged him to hold off: And afterwards encountering *Sweers*, the vice-admiral of

of *Tromp*'s ſquadron, he ſo battered him, that he put him, and the reſt of his diviſion, to flight. This, afterwards, occaſioned a quarrel between *Sweers* and *Tromp*; the latter accuſing the former, of baſely deſerting him. After this, *Sprag*, taking the opportunity, had another encounter with *Tromp*; whom he engaged, as before, ſhip to ſhip, tho' at ſome diſtance, as wanting the advantage of the wind. Yet he plied him ſo briskly with his cannon, that he reduced him to great extremities, ſhooting down the admiral's flag, and making a dreadful ſlaughter of his men; as appears from *Tromp*'s own *Journal*. Thus much may be gathered from the *Dutch* accounts. But the *Engliſh* cannot ſufficiently expreſs the bravery of *Sprag*, upon theſe occaſions; who, they ſay, fought ſo furiouſly, that whole ſquadrons gave way before him. The fight laſted thus, till ten or eleven at night: At which time, the *Dutch* (tho' they had the weather-gage, and could have forced the confederates to a battle the next day) ſtood away to the *South-Eaſt* (with the wind almoſt contrary) and did their utmoſt to reach their own coaſt. This retreat is confeſs'd by the author of *De Ruyter*'s life*. And the diſorder and confuſion of the enemy's fleet, at that time, may be learnt from prince *Rupert*'s letter.

*Tromp*

* P. 816.

*Tromp* likewiſe, in his letter to the ſtates-general, confeſſes, that their retreat towards their own coaſt, was begun as ſoon as it was dark; But the writer of his life is pleaſed to contradict him; and, without proof, to affirm, that the fleet of the *Hollanders* remained the whole night near the place of battle *.

The *Engliſh* and *French* (who kept their ſtation) obſerving the enemy's retreat, ſtood after them about two in the morning, and (as prince *Rupert* ſays in his letter) continued the chaſe till ſix. But, the retreat being begun ſome hours before it was perceived, they could not have been overtaken, till gotten within their ſands: Which was the reaſon that the confederates gave over the chaſe, and ſteered towards the *Engliſh* coaſt; where they arrived about eleven that morning, tho' the *Hollanders*, having the wind leſs favourable, could not return to *Schoonevelt*, till towards the evening.

The *Dutch* admirals, in their letters, ſpeak not with certainty of the loſs of any man of war on the ſide of the confederates, except one, which *Tromp* confidently ſays was burnt. *De Ruyter* ſays he ſaw a ſhip burnt, but that it was uncertain, whether a man of war or a fire-ſhip. He adds, that he was informed that two of the enemy's ſhips were ſunk: But this was no leſs uncertain, and equally denied by the

* Leven van Tromp, p. 440.

the confederates. The contrary wind and the backwardneſs of the *Dutch* to come to a cloſe engagement, were the cauſes that none of their men of war were taken or deſtroyed by the confederates, tho' ſeveral were very much damaged.

The fleet of the two crowns, after having landed the wounded men, and taken in proviſions and ammunition, put again to Sea, on the 17th of the ſame month, with a body of ſeven thouſand freſh troops; whereof four thouſand were diſtributed on board the men of war. The deſign, as before, was, if poſſible, to make a deſcent on the coaſt of *Zealand*. On the 23d, they appeared before the *Maaſe*, and, on the 24th, before *Scheveling* and *Zandvoort*. Soon after, they poſted themſelves before the *Texel*. From thence they paſſed along the whole coaſt of *Holland* and *Friezland*, to the *Vlie*, *Ameland*, and the *Weſtern-Ems*. But, on the 2d or 3d of *Auguſt*, they returned before the *Texel*.

By theſe motions, they haraſs'd the enemy's troops, which were every-where in arms to guard the coaſt; and, by blocking up the ports, they endangered a very rich fleet of *Eaſt-India* ſhips, which were expected in *Holland*. But theſe inconveniences the *Dutch* were content to ſuffer near a fortnight, rather than be drawn from the coaſt of *Zealand*.

While the confederates were thus cruiſing to and fro, they had the fortune to take a *Dutch Eaſt-India* ſhip, which was ſeparated from her company, and very richly laden.

At laſt, the *Dutch*, being grown impatient by ſeeing their ports thus blockaded, and their ſhips taken in their ſight, reſolved, in a council of war, held on board *De Ruyter*'s ſhip, (at which, the prince of *Orange* aſſiſted in perſon) to leave their uſual ſtation, and, by hazarding a third engagement, to free themſelves, if poſſible, from theſe inſults. Accordingly, they ſet ſail on the 3d of *Auguſt*, and, upon the 10th, the fleets came within ſight of each other. On this occaſion, *De Ruyter* gave a proof of his experience, and good conduct: For, ſailing cloſe along the ſhoar all night, unperceived by the confederates, he in the morning had gotten the weather-gage, which, in Sea-fights, is often times of great advantage.

The *Engliſh* were ſixty men of war, and the *French* thirty; whereas the *Dutch* (if we credit their own accounts) were no more than ſeventy. The fight began at eight in the morning, in the ſame order as in the laſt engagement; only the *French* (whom the *Engliſh*, ſince their late good behaviour, had begun to truſt again) compoſed a ſeparate ſquadron, as at the time of the *Souldbay* fight.

The

The *French* ſquadron, under *D' Eſtrées*, being attack'd by *Banckert*, after a ſhort diſpute, abandoned the *Engliſh*, ſtood away to the eaſtward, and, (as if ſent to be only ſpectators) came off no more. 'Tis agreed, that *D' Eſtrées* (who afterwards gave ſufficient proofs both of his courage and conduct againſt *De Ruyter* in the *Mediterranean)* had too limited a commiſſion: Which is abundantly confirmed by the treatment that rear-admiral *Martel* met with, who, having engaged ſomewhat too deeply againſt the enemy, was, at his return, committed to the *Baſtile*. A noted *Dutch* hiſtorian, ſpeaking of this conduct of the *French*, informs us, That a ſeaman a-board *De Ruyter*'s ſhip, perceiving that the *French* ſquadron ſtood aloof, while their allies, the *Engliſh*, were hotly engaged, was heard to ask, Why the *French* came not off again? To which one of his companions replied, *They have hired the* Engliſh *to fight for 'em, and their only buſineſs here is to ſee that they deſerve their wages.* This retreat of the *French* is ſuppoſed to have been the reaſon of ſuppreſſing prince *Rupert*'s letter after the fight; for that letter, we may believe, contained ſome complaints not much to the honour of the king's allies.

While the *French* were retreating, there was a terrible combat between prince *Rupert* and *De Ruyter*, and the latter was ſore preſſed: Which *Banckert* perceiving, and finding the

*French* had no inclination to renew the fight, he left them, and bore down with his ſquadron to *De Ruyter*'s aſſiſtance. Whereupon, the prince, finding himſelf over-laid with numbers, was obliged to make a retreating fight to the weſtward. By this means, *De Ruyter* and *Banckert* gaining but little advantage upon him, and fearing leſt *Tromp* might be worſted by *Sprag*, with whom he was at this time very hotly engaged, they reſolved to ſteer their courſe that way: Which prince *Rupert* perceiving, and being no leſs concerned for *Sprag*, than the enemies for *Tromp*, he followed them.

The battle between *Tromp* and *Sprag* had begun, about nine o'clock. Thoſe two brave enemies engaged, ſhip to ſhip; *Tromp* in the *Golden Lion*, and *Sprag* in the *Royal Prince*. *Tromp*, who had the weather-gage, remained, notwithſtanding, at ſome diſtance, and avoided a cloſe fight; which gave him a conſiderable advantage. For *Sprag*, who had more than his complement a-board, ſuffered much by his enemy's cannon; and, having the wind and ſmoak in his face, could not take ſo true an aim, nor ſufficiently requite the civilities of his adverſary. After a fight of three hours, the *Royal Prince* being quite diſabled, he was obliged to leave her, and go a-board the *St. George*: And *Tromp* (whoſe *Golden Lion* had abated much of his fierceneſs) hoiſted his flag

a-board

a-board the *Comet*. Hereupon, the fight was renewed with ſuch fury, as if the combatants had been aſſured of a conſtant ſupply, not only of ſhips, but of bodies. The ſeconds engaged deeply in the diſpute between the admirals, and my lord *Oſſory* and Sir *John Kempthorn* particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and, together with *Sprag*, ſo protected the *Royal Prince*, that the enemy's fire-ſhips were obliged to ſhew reſpect, and keep their diſtance. After a ſharp diſpute, the *St. George* having, by the continual battery, received conſiderable damage, Sir *Edward Sprag* deſigned to go on board a third ſhip. But, before he was gone ſix boats length, an unfortunate ſhot, which paſſed through the ſides of the *St. George*, ſtruck the boat, and ſunk it: And thus the water extinguiſhed that courage, which had ever been ſuperior to the hotteſt fire of the enemy.

He died eſteemed by the *Dutch* themſelves; who, in their hiſtories, give him the character of the braveſt of the *Engliſh* admirals, and a true ſon of *Mars*. His body, being taken up by the *Engliſh*, was interred with the honour due to his extraordinary merits.

While theſe things were acting on that ſide, the *Dutch* ſquadrons of *De Ruyter* and *Banckert*, followed by that of prince *Rupert*, came up; and, both parties being joined, the fight was renewed with greater fury. "Here (ſays the

" author of *Tromp*'s life) were ſhewn the ut-
" moſt proofs of valour, and the *Engliſh* fought
" like heroes ".

The battle appeared like a general war of the elements, or a ſtrife of all the moſt contrary things in nature. Fire and water, air and earth, light and darkneſs, ſeemed to contend for the victory. In the mean time, *D' Eſtreés* and his *French* kept their ſtation, without offering to bear down to the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*; who fought with the greateſt reſolution and conſtancy, againſt the enemy's whole fleet, till after * ſun-ſet; never ceaſing, till the darkneſs and ſmoak began to baniſh all diſtinction of friends and enemies. On this occaſion, *De Ruyter*, in his letter to the ſtates, expreſſes himſelf with his uſual modeſty, and is far from boaſting of victory. Some *Dutch* writers, indeed, pretend their fleet chaſed the *Engliſh* for ſome time; but, as to this, both he and *Tromp*, in their letters, are wholly ſilent.

The loſs of ſhips, conſidering the heat and fury of the battle, was very inconſiderable. *Tromp* and *De Ruyter* make mention but of one *Engliſh* man of war, which, they ſay, was loſt, together with a few fire-ſhips; and they confeſs the loſs of but four or five fire-ſhips, on the ſide of the *Dutch*. But the *Engliſh* deny that they loſt any man of war, and affirm,

* Brief van De Ruyter.

affirm, that the veſſel that was ſunk, on their ſide, was the *Henrietta-Yatch.* They are likewiſe very poſitive, that two of the largeſt *Dutch* men of war were ſunk: And this is confirmed by a letter from a perſon of no leſs honour than my lord *Oſſory.*

The death of the brave *Sprag* could not, it ſeems, be ſufficiently revenged, but by the deaths of two of the enemy's vice-admirals, *Sweers* and *De Liefde.* The loſs of ſeamen and ſoldiers was not very conſiderable; though greater on the ſide of the *Engliſh,* who had ſo many ſoldiers above their uſual complement. Two *Engliſh* Sea-captains, Sir *William Reeves* and captain *Haiman,* were killed in this engagement; as were two or three *Dutch,* among whom, was a ſon-in-law of *De Ruyter.*

One of the *Dutch* hiſtorians † pretends, that *Tromp,* ſoon after the fight, delivered over, as trophies, to the officers of the admiralty at *Amſterdam,* the flags of Sir *Edward Sprag*'s ſhip: Which can be no other than a fiction; for *Tromp* never boarded her. Nor does it appear, that any *Engliſh* ſhip was boarded by the enemies (notwithſtanding they had the advantage of the wind) during the whole engagement.

About the middle of *September,* the ſeaſon for action being as good as paſt, the *French* ſqua-



† Ontroerde Leeuw derde deel. p. 79.

dron, under the count *D'Eſtrees*, ſet ſail for *France*: But being ſeveral times driven back, and at laſt ſcattered by ſtorm, they did not arrive at *Breſt*, till the middle of *November*; having ſuffered more by the wind and waves, than by the fire of the enemy.

The laſt engagement produced one great advantage, not only to the *Hollanders*, but to all *Europe*. For the court of *England* perceiving the ſecond time, how little dependance they could have on their allies, the *French*, by Sea, and likewiſe growing jealous of their mighty progreſſes by Land, became ſomewhat more flexible, and began to liſten to the propoſals of peace, which were made on the part of the ſtates. To this, they were the more diſpoſed by the apprehenſions of a rupture with *Spain*, which began to engage in the quarrel of *Holland*: So that the peace, after a ſhort diſpute, was concluded in the month of *February*, *Anno* 1674.

By virtue of this treaty, whatever place was taken, without the bounds of *Europe*, was reſtored; the ſtates paid eight hundred thouſand crowns, by way of ſatisfaction for all damages; and likewiſe acknowledged the right of the flag in the moſt ample manner. For, by the fourth article, 'twas agreed, that the ſhips or veſſels of the *United Provinces*, as well men of war as others, whether ſingle, or in fleets, meeting at Sea with any veſſel or veſſels

veſſels of the king of *England*, carrying the *Engliſh* flag or jack, ſhould ſtrike the flag, and lower the top-ſail. And this reſpect was agreed to be ſhewn within the four Seas which ſurround this iſland, extending from *Cape Finiſterre* to the middle point of the land of *Staten* in *Norway*: Which reſpect, due to the flag, was always provided for, being inſerted in the nineteenth article of the treaty of *Breda*, the tenth article of that at *Whitehall*, and in the thirteenth of that between *Oliver* and the ſtates. 'Twas likewiſe agreed, That commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to *London*, to treat about the regulation of the *Eaſt-India*-trade; all matters of diſpute which could not be determined by them and the *Engliſh* commiſſioners, within the ſpace of three months, being to be referred to the arbitrement of the queen-regent of *Spain*, and decided by commiſſioners, to be appointed by her, within a limited time.

Perhaps, that which added no little weight to the aforementioned reaſons for concluding a peace, was a letter of the ſtates-general, dated *December* 9, 1673. wherein they repreſented to his majeſty of *Great-Britain*, with how much glory, as well as juſtice, he might, by concluding a ſeparate peace, extinguiſh a fire, which had already ſpread itſelf farther than was at firſt imagined: and, the more to incline him to it, they not only alledged the ill behaviour of his allies, the *French*, in the

the late Sea-fights, but, likewiſe (by way of requital for the diſcovery made by the *French* court, of a certain ſecret of the like nature, in the beginning of the war) they informed him, of a propoſal or offer made them by *France*, to conclude a peace, with excluſion of his majeſty. Which laſt motive was alone ſufficient to juſtify the king in abandoning the party of allies, who had broken their treaty with him, and who appeared to have ſo little concern for his intereſt.

Thus ended the war, to the general ſatisfaction of *Chriſtendom*, after four engagements, with little advantage to either party. The loſs of merchant-ſhips was, however, conſiderable on both ſides; but greater on the ſide of the *Engliſh*. But this proceeded chiefly from the want of trade among the *Dutch*, (occaſioned by the mentioned prohibition of the ſtates) which, as it was a great loſs in itſelf, ſo, if added to their loſs by the taking of many ſhips that were abroad before the beginning of the war, 'twill, perhaps, appear, that the damage, ſuffered by the *Dutch*, could not well be leſs than that which was ſuſtained by the *Engliſh*. And 'tis remarkable, that notwithſtanding this, and the former war, which was attended with the dreadful fire of *London*, the tonnage of the *Engliſh* merchant-ſhips, *Anno* 1688, was near double to what it was *Anno* 1666. And the royal navy, from the year

year 1660, to 1688, was increaſed, from ſixty-two thouſand, five hundred ninety-four, to an hundred and one thouſand, and thirty-two tons.

During the war with *Holland*, the *Corſairs* of *Tripoli* had taken the opportunity to ſeize ſeveral *Engliſh* ſhips; which hoſtilities occaſioned the ſending of Sir *John Narborough* with a ſmall ſquadron of frigates, in the year 1675, to reduce them to reaſon. This brave ſeaman, (whoſe voyages are ſufficiently known) being arrived before the place, block'd up the port in ſuch manner, that no veſſel could go out or in, without the utmoſt danger. But, not ſatisfied with this, he reſolved to make an attempt on the ſhipping in the port. Accordingly, manning out his boats, under command of his lieutenant, Mr. *Cloudeſley Shovel*, (afterwards Sir *Cloudeſley*) he ſent them into the harbour; where ſeizing the guard-ſhip, in the dead of the night, they afterwards ſurprized and burnt four ſhips, under the very cannon of the caſtle, and returned without loſing a man. This bold action ſo daunted the regency of *Tripoli*, that they ſent to deſire peace; but, being unwilling to make ſatisfaction for the damage done the *Engliſh*, they could not obtain it. To render them more tractable, he afterwards cannonaded the town; and then, landing about twenty leagues from

from thence, he burnt a magazine of timber ready prepared for building ſhips. After this, the pirates continuing obſtinate, he ſailed for *Malta*; from whence returning ſuddenly, in the beginning of the year 1676, he ſtruck ſuch a terror into thoſe *Barbarians*, that the peace was ſoon made, to the ſatisfaction of the *Engliſh*.

But, after the articles were ſigned, certain pirates, who returned from a cruiſe, being diſpleaſed with the regency for ſubmitting to ſuch terms, raiſed a tumult, chaſed away the *Dey*, and broke the treaty. But Sir *John Narborough*, being informed of it, ſoon returned with eight frigates, and, by the force of his cannon, compelled them, not only to renew the peace, but to deliver up to him the chief of the mutineers to be puniſhed.

In the year 1679, thoſe of *Algiers*, having made prize of certain *Engliſh* ſhips, on pretence that their paſſes were not according to the regulation, Sir *John Narborough* was ſent with a ſquadron to demand ſatisfaction: Which he ſoon obliged them to give. But, the *Barbarians* renewing their hoſtilities, another ſquadron was ſent in the year 1682 under commadore *Herbert*, (afterwards admiral, and earl of *Torrington*) who did conſiderable damage to the pirates, and forced them to agree to a treaty, which they have never ſince dared to violate.

CHAP.

# CHAP. VI.

## *An Account of the* Engliſh Naval-affairs, *from the* Revolution, *to the* Peace of Utrecht.

THE *French*, ſince the year 1660, thro' the fault of the *Dutch*, as well as *Engliſh*, not only very much increaſed their naval force, but likewiſe improved themſelves conſiderably in Sea-affairs; the wars between the two nations ſerving as an exerciſe for their ſeamen. How good proficients they were was ſoon after ſeen, in the engagements which happened between them and the *Spaniards* and *Dutch* in the *Mediterranean*; in one of which, the famous admiral *De Ruyter* received his mortal wound.

Soon after the *Revolution* of the year 1688, the flames of war being ſpread throughout the greateſt part of *Europe*, they had a freſh opportunity of ſhewing their power at Sea.

The late unfortunate king *James*, having landed in *Ireland* on the 12th of *March*, 1689: in hopes of retrieving his affairs, by the means of his popiſh ſubjects of that kingdom, and the aſſiſtance of *France*, a ſquadron was ſoon after fitted out at *Breſt*, with a number of tranſports,

tranſports, having on board a reinforcement of five thouſand men, veterane ſoldiers, who were ordered to follow him. Upon notice of theſe preparations of the enemy, admiral *Herbert*, with an *Engliſh* ſquadron, ſet ſail towards the *French* coaſt, with deſign to intercept the convoy. But the wind, coming *Eaſterly*, carried the *French* out to Sea, before the *Engliſh* could reach *Breſt*; ſo that, ſteering after them towards the coaſt of *Ireland*, they found them, on the 30th of *April* in the evening, at anchor in *Bantry-bay*.

The *Engliſh* ſquadron conſiſted of eighteen men of war, a ſmall frigate, and a fire-ſhip. The enemy had twenty-eight men of war, from ſixty to upwards of ſeventy guns, and three fire-ſhips, commanded by monſieur *Chateau Renaut*. The next day, being the 1ſt of *May*, the *French*, encouraged by their ſuperiority, got under ſail, and began a ſmart engagement: The event of which was, that though, conſidering the number and bigneſs of their ſhips, they had double the force of the *Engliſh*, beſides the advantage of the wind; yet, about five in the evening, they retreated, and ſtood in towards the ſhoar. But, as the *Engliſh* had ſuffered much in maſts and rigging, they were in no condition to follow them, and improve the advantage. The loſs of the *French* is uncertain: Only 'twas obſerved, that one of their ſhips took fire; but it was quench'd.

quench'd. Of the *Engliſh*, no more than ninety were killed, and two hundred and ſeventy wounded, but not a ſhip loſt. Admiral *Herbert* was ſoon after created earl of *Torrington*, and captain *Aſhbey* and captain *Shovel* were knighted, and the ſeamen, for their bravery ſhewn on this occaſion, received a donative of ten *Shillings* a man.

One of the firſt undertakings of the late king *James*, in *Ireland*, was, the ſiege of *Londonderry*; a place but indifferently fortified, in the *North* of that kingdom, ſituated on a ſmall river, which, a little below the town, falls into a bay, called *Lough-Foyle*. This proteſtant city, tho' without a garriſon, and furniſhed with proviſions but for ten days, had defended itſelf near two months, againſt an army of twenty thouſand men, and was reduced to great extremities by famine, when Sir *George Rook* and major-general *Kirk* with ſix frigates, and ſome tranſports, laden with troops and proviſions, arrived in the bay, in order to attempt its relief. The enemy, to prevent the execution of this deſign, had laid a ſtrong boom athwart the river, which was defended by redoubts at each end. They had likewiſe intrenched the ſides of the river, and lined them with musketeers; and to ſtop up the paſſage, in the moſt effectual manner, they had ſunk ſeveral boats, and driven in ſtakes with large iron-ſpikes. Notwithſtanding

withſtanding which, about three weeks after the arrival of the ſquadron, the relief of the town was attempted, and the *Dartmouth*-frigate, with two other ſhips, being ſent in, cut the boom, in the midſt of the fire of the enemy, and furniſhed the town with proviſions: Whereupon, the ſiege was broken up the next day.

King *William* being gone to attempt the reduction of *Ireland*, meaſures were in the mean time concerted for raiſing a rebellion in *England*; which was to be encouraged and ſupported by the *French* fleet. With this view, the *French* admiral, *Tourville*, with ſeventy-odd ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, *&c.* was ſent into the *Channel*, about the middle of *June*, 1690: Upon notice of which, the confederate fleet, commanded by the earl of *Torrington*, and conſiſting but of fifty men of war, with ſome frigates, and fire-ſhips, ſet ſail on the 24th of the ſame month, from *St. Helen*'s, and next day got ſight of the enemy. Hereupon, an action enſued on the 30th; which, becauſe it gave occaſion to various reports and reflections, was examined into by order of the government, and found to have been, as follows:

The *Dutch* ſquadron, which led the van, being advanced conſiderably before the reſt of the fleet, began, about eight in the morning, ſomewhat raſhly to engage part of the van of

of the van of the *French*, and about half an hour after, the *Blue*-ſquadron attack'd their rear: But the *Red*, which was in the center, being far a ſtern of the *Dutch*, when the fight began, and not being able to come up, and engage, till ten, the *Dutch* were ſurrounded, and ſuffered very much. The admiral perceiving the ill circumſtances they were in, firſt ſent them order to caſt anchor, and then puſh'd in between them and the enemy, with his own, and ſeveral other ſhips of his ſquadron, and ſo diſengaged them. But judging it not fit to hazard another engagement with a force ſo ſuperior, after the loſs and damage ſuſtained by the *Dutch*, he ordered a retreat. During the retreat, (which was towards the mouth of the *Thames*) an *Engliſh* ſeventy-gun ſhip, called the *Anne*, having loſt her maſts, was ſtranded near *Winchelſea*, and fired by her own people, as were likewiſe three of the *Dutch*; which added to three others deſtroyed in the fight, and one (which the *French* affirm to have been taken) made the loſs of the *Hollanders* to amount to ſeven ſhips of the line.

The *French* pretend, that no fewer than ſeventeen men of war, which had loſt their maſts in the engagement, were driven on ſhoar, and burnt. This, father *Daniel* * aſſures us, is fact; tho' the induſtry uſed by



* Hiſt. of France. Vol. 5.

the government, to conceal ſo great a loſs, has kept us in ignorance of it. Strange! that the government ſhould have it in their power ſo to blind the eyes of the people on the ſea-coaſt, as to render them incapable of diſcerning ſo many ſhining proofs of their enemy's victory!

After the fight, the *French* went and lay ſome time in *Torbay*; but the diſaffected party not daring to ſtir, they only burnt the little town of *Tingmouth*, together with a few defenceleſs colliers and coaſters; which veſſels the *French* hiſtorians have ſince furniſhed with rich ladings, and given them four men of war to protect them: For they ſpeak of eight rich merchant-ſhips, and four men of war, that were there deſtroyed.

To ſatisfy the *Dutch*, who, having been great ſufferers, complained of the earl of *Torrington*'s conduct in the engagement, he was impriſoned for ſome time; but being afterwards tried by a court martial, he was unanimouſly acquitted; though never after employed.

The year 1691, was remarkable for the total reduction of *Ireland*; to which good ſucceſs our fleets contributed not a little, by guarding the coaſt, and aſſiſting in the attacks upon the Sea-ports. The ſailors were particularly ſerviceable at the taking of *Cork*: Where the duke of *Grafton*, as he was encouraging

raging ſome of them, who had the management of a battery on ſhoar, was wounded with a musket-ball from the walls; which occaſioned his death.

The *French*, encouraged by the ſucceſs of the late engagement, and hoping to meet the *Engliſh* before the *Dutch* could join them, (and probably depending on the miſunderſtanding between the two nations, occaſioned by the former action) had the boldneſs, the following year, to enter the *Channel* the ſecond time. But the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* being joined a little before, under the command of admiral *Ruſſel* (now earl of *Orford*) they found themſelves diſappointed. On the 19th of *May*, the fleets came within ſight of each other, about ſeven leagues off *Cape Barfleur*, on the *French* coaſt; and about eleven in the morning, the *French*, having the weather-gage, were willing to take that advantage, and ſo began the fight. The *French* fleet conſiſted of fifty men of war, under command of monſieur *Tourville*, and that of the confederates, of about ſeventy; but for the moſt part lighter ſhips.

The *French* admiral, in the *Royal-Sun*, of a hundred and ten guns, engaged the *Engliſh* admiral; but after a ſharp fight of an hour and half, being much diſabled, he began to tow off. Upon which, five *French* ſhips came and lay near their admiral to protect him: So that admiral *Ruſſel* and his two ſeconds were

hotly engaged with ſix of the largeſt ſhips of the enemy. Thus the fight continued, till a thick fog, about four in the afternoon, put an end to their firing on both ſides. Soon after, the weather clearing up, the *French* admiral was ſeen towing away to the northward: Whereupon, he was chaſed by the *Engliſh* admiral and the ſhips of his diviſion. While this paſs'd between the admirals, Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, rear-admiral of the *Red*, was gotten to windward of monſieur *Tourville*'s ſquadron, and engaged them; but ſoon after, both parties came to an anchor, not being able any longer to diſcern each other by reaſon of the mentioned fog. But upon the weather's clearing up, the *French* attended their admiral in his flight. About eight at night, it again became foggy, and part of the *Engliſh Blue*-ſquadron having fallen in with ſome of the enemy's ſhips, an engagement happened, which laſted about half an hour, till the enemy having loſt (as is ſaid) four ſhips, which were blown up, bore away for *Conquet-Road*. In this diſpute it was that rear-admiral *Carter* was killed. The weather clearing up, the chaſe was continued the next and the two following days. The *French* plying to the weſtward endeavoured to eſcape through the race of *Aldernay*; but being cloſely followed, the *Royal-Sun* ran a-ground near *Cherbourg*, on the *French* coaſt, and her two ſeconds, the *Ambi-*

*tieux*

*tieux* and the *Admirable*, came to anchor near her. Thirteen more of the enemy's ſhips were forced to run among the ſhallows at *La Hogue*. All theſe, with ſeveral tranſports, were burnt by the *Engliſh* boats, in ſpite of the fire from the enemy's platforms on ſhoar, with the loſs of no more than ten men. The loſs of the *French* in men of war, after the fight, was two of a hundred and four guns each, one of ninety, two of eighty, four of ſeventy-ſix, four of ſixty, and two of fifty-ſix guns.

Though the confederate fleet was more numerous than that of the enemy, yet ſince many ſhips of the *Dutch* ſquadron, and the greateſt part of the *Blue*, were hinder'd by the calm and the fog from engaging, it is clear that the victory was not owing to numbers.

By this defeat of their fleet, the *French* loſt the opportunity of making a deſcent in *England*; for which purpoſe they had drawn down a great body of troops to the coaſt.

The *Engliſh* had likewiſe troops ready for a deſcent on the coaſt of *France*, which, after the enemy's defeat, were actually embark'd, and joined the fleet: But the Winter-ſeaſon being too far advanced, the deſign was laid aſide.

The next ſummer was unfortunate to the confederates, thro' the loſs of many rich ſhips; which happened thus: A great fleet of merchant-ſhips, bound to the *Mediterranean*, as al-

ſo to *Virginia* and *Bilboa*, having been convoy'd by the whole confederate-fleet to a certain latitude, were there left to the care of Sir *George Rook* with twenty-three men of war. Sir *George*, ſoon after, being advanced with the merchant-ſhips bound for the *Mediterranean*, as far as *Villa Nova*, diſcovered ten ſail of the enemy's men of war, and ſome ſmaller veſſels. Thoſe, as if afraid, on the ſight of the fleet, ſtood away with their boats a-head, ſetting fire to ſeveral of the ſmaller veſſels, and abandoning others, ſome of which were taken. A fire-ſhip of theirs, falling in with the fleet in the night, was likewiſe taken; whoſe men, to deceive the confederates, are ſaid, to have informed the admiral, that there was only a ſquadron of fifteen ſhips of the line, with ſome ſtore-ſhips, bound for *Thoulon*, to join monſieur *D' Eſtrées*. Theſe artifices of the *French* had the deſired ſucceſs: For Sir *George* proceeding, was ſoon made ſenſible that he had been miſled, when the whole fleet of the enemy, conſiſting of ſeventy-five ſail, under command of monſieur *Tourville*, appeared. The ſurprize was ſo great, that the merchant-ſhips ſeparated, and ſteered different ways: Whereupon the enemy took about thirty ſail both *Dutch* and *Engliſh*; and ſeveral others which eſcaped into the port of *Malaga*, being attack'd, were ſunk by their own people, to prevent their being taken or deſtroyed.

deſtroyed. The ſame happened to four rich *Turkey*-ſhips, which put into *Gibraltar*.

This misfortune was ſoon followed by another from an enemy too ſtrong to be contended with. For Sir *Francis Wheler*, being with a ſquadron in the *Mediterranean*, was caſt away in his ſhip, the *Suſſex*, by a violent ſtorm, juſt within the *Streight's-mouth*. The *Cambridge* and the *Lumley Caſtle*, with ſix merchant-ſhips, homeward bound from *Turkey*, *Venice* and *Leghorn*, were likewiſe loſt, and between eight or nine hundred men, together with the admiral, drowned.

*Anno* 1694, a fleet of forty or fifty *French* merchant-ſhips lying in *Bertheaum-Bay*, with a man of war or two for their convoy, were attack'd by the *Monmouth* and *Reſolution*, under command of captain *Prickard*, who took two, and forced on ſhoar thirty-five.

The ſame year, a deſign being formed againſt the important harbour of *Breſt*, in the *Lower Bretagne*, a fleet of forty ſail, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, under the lord *Berkely*, and a body of about ſix thouſand land-forces, commanded by lieutenant-general *Talmaſh*, were ordered to put it in execution. Being arrived in *Camaret-Bay*, near that harbour, a conſiderable number of the forces were accordingly landed; but the enemy having had timely intelligence had made ſuch proviſion for their reception, by fortifying and entrenching the

whole coaſt of the *Bay*, that they were repulſed, with the loſs of about ſix hundred men; and the lieutenant-general himſelf, being wounded in the thigh, died not long after at *Plimouth*. Three of the *Engliſh* frigates which were ſent in to favour the landing were much ſhattered, and a *Dutch* frigate was ſunk by the enemy's batteries.

To make ſome amends for this diſappointment, two large and noted towns on the coaſt of *Normandy*, *viz. Dieppe* and *Havre de Grace*, were bombarded and almoſt laid in aſhes; and an attempt was made to deſtroy the wooden forts at the entrance of the harbour of *Dunkirk* with certain machines of a new invention, but without the deſired ſucceſs.

The ſame year, admiral *Ruſſel* was ſent with a fleet to the *Streights*; but no opportunity of ſervice offering, he received order to winter at *Cadiz*. While the fleet lay there, captain *Killigrew* was ſent out with ſix men of war to execute certain orders, and meeting by the way, with two ſtout *French* men of war, called the *Trident* and the *Content*, they were both taken, but he loſt his life in the engagement.

In the beginning of the year 1695, a convoy being arrived from *England* with a body of land forces amounting to about four thouſand five hundred men, the fleet ſailed from *Cadiz*, and ſoon after caſt anchor before *Barcelona*

*celona.* The deſign was to attack *Palamos* (a Sea-port of *Catalonia* in poſſeſſion of the *French*) with the land-forces in conjunction with ſome *Spaniſh* troops, while the fleet blocked it up by Sea. Accordingly, about four thouſand men under command of brigadier general *Stúart* and the count of *Naſſau* were landed near the place: But being in want of many neceſſaries (thro' the negligence of the *Spaniards*) the town was only bombarded, and ſo the troops were reimbarked.

At home a reſolution was taken to bombard *St. Maloes*; (a very noted port of *Bretagne*) for which purpoſe an attempt was firſt made to deſtroy a wooden fort that covered the place; which was partly effected by the means of two fire-ſhips. Then followed the bombardment of the town, into which nine hundred bombs and carcaſſes were thrown; which occaſioned a great fire and did conſiderable damage. Soon after, *Granville* (a pretty large town in the lower *Normandy*) was entirely deſtroyed without the loſs of a man. The deſign againſt *Dunkirk* was likewiſe reſumed; but little execution was done beſides the ſinking of three of the enemy's half gallies by the bombs. From thence the fleet proceeded to *Calais*, into which about ſix hundred ſhells were thrown; which ſet the town on fire in ſeveral places.

In

In the beginning of the following year, *Calais* was bombarded the ſecond time, with deſign to burn certain tranſports which had been gotten ready for a deſcent, in favour of the late king *James*. On this occaſion, about three hundred bombs and carcaſſes were thrown; which did conſiderable damage to the town, but burnt only one ſmall veſſel in the harbour.

The ſame year, the confederate fleet landed ſome men on the iſlands *Grouais*, *Houat*, and *Heydic*, lying near the *French* coaſt; where they took and deſtroyed all they found: So that 'twas computed, that about twenty veſſels and thirteen hundred houſes were burnt, and near two thouſand head of black cattle and horſes killed. The towns of *St. Martin* and *Olonne* were likewiſe bombarded, and very much damaged by throwing in near two thouſand bombs and carcaſſes.

Thus the naval war in *Europe* ended with the ruin of divers of the enemy's iſlands and Seaports, to the inexpreſſible terror of the inhabitants; all which the *French* were rather content to endure, than to hazard another voyage up the *Channel* to protect their coaſts.

Another ſcene of war had opened very early in *America*, where in the end of *May* 1690 it was agreed by the council at *Antegoa* (which had the direction of affairs in thoſe parts) to attempt the reduction of the iſland

iſland *St. Chriſtophers.* Accordingly captain *Lawrence Wright*, with a ſquadron of men of war and a body of troops commanded by general *Codrington*, came to anchor before the iſland, and a landing was undertaken at a place called *Friggot's Bay* with five hundred men. Theſe attack'd the *French* ſo vigorouſly, that after a hot diſpute of about two hours, they beat them out of their trenches. The reſt of the troops being landed, to the number of about two thouſand five hundred men, the whole body marched towards *Baſſe Terre*, and finding the enemy advantageouſly poſted between two hills, they attack'd, and after an hour's reſiſtance, defeated them. *Baſſe Terre*, upon the approach of the *Engliſh* ſquadron, was immediately deſerted by the enemy, who retired to the mountains. The *Engliſh* forces marched next to *Charles Fort*, which after a ſiege of few days ſurrendered.

*St. Chriſtophers* being thus reduced, part of the troops made themſelves maſters of *St. Euſtace*, a neighbouring iſland, which the enemy had taken from the *Dutch*.

The following year, they attack'd, plundered and utterly deſtroyed the *French* iſland of *Marigalante*; and afterwards landing on *Guadalupe*, another conſiderable iſland belonging to the *French*, they defeated a body of the enemies, and made themſelves maſters of the town. But as they were preparing to attack

the

the forts, advice was brought of the approach of a ſquadron of eleven *French* men of war and frigates under command of monſieur *Du Caſſe*, coming from *Martinico* to its relief; which obliged them haſtily to quit the iſland, after having done conſiderable damage to the enemy's plantations.

In the beginning of the year 1695, Captain *Robert Wilmot* was ſent with a ſquadron of men of war and ſome land forces to the iſland *St. Domingo*; where the forces being joined by ſome *Spaniſh* troops, and marching to beſiege the town and fort of *Cape Francois* the *French* blew up the fort, on which were mounted forty pieces of cannon, and burnt the town at their approach. After this, ſome troops were landed near *Port de Paix* on the ſame iſland, which deſtroyed the enemy's plantations, and took and demoliſhed the fort; in which were found eighty pieces of cannon mounted, and ſtore of ammunition.

On the other ſide, the *French* did conſiderable damage in *Newfoundland*; where moſt of the *Engliſh* ſettlements were deſtroyed by eight large privateers, and the *Saphire*, a fifth rate, was burnt to prevent her falling into their hands. A conſiderable fort on the river *Gambia* in *Africa* was likewiſe taken and demoliſhed by the enemy.

In the year 1696, rear-admiral *Nevil* being ſent

ſent with a ſquadron to the *Weſt-Indies*, met and engaged monſieur *Pointy*, who was returning with a great booty taken from the *Spaniards* at the plundering of *Cartagena*: But ſeveral accidents, which diſabled the ſails of the *Engliſh* ſhips during the chaſe, prevented that treaſure's falling into his hands. He afterwards detached nine ſhips of his ſquadron to attempt *Petit Guavas*; which place was taken by ſurpriſe: But moſt of the ſailors who were landed, drinking too plentifully of the liquors they found in the town, the commadore was forced to ſet fire to it ſooner than was intended; ſo that a conſiderable booty was loſt for want of good order and diſcipline.

Monſieur *Pointy*, who ſo narrowly eſcaped from rear-admiral *Nevil*, got not home to *Breſt* without a ſecond rencounter with four ſtout *Engliſh* men of war, and a frigate, under command of captain *Harlow*, about 90 leagues *W. S. W.* from *Scilly*; which after a fight of two hours obliged him to bear away: but his ſhips being clean and thoſe of the *Engliſh* foul, 'twas impoſſible to come up with him.

At laſt, the flames of war, which had ſpread themſelves over ſo great a part of the world, were extinguiſhed by a treaty of peace, which was concluded at *Ryſwick*, Anno 1697.

By virtue of this treaty, king *William* was acknowledged

acknowledged as king of *England*, &c. and his principality of *Orange* was reſtored; as were likewiſe whatever places had been taken in the *Weſt-Indies* by either party.

Tho' the *French*, during the courſe of the war, were but too ſucceſsful in taking great numbers of merchant-ſhips by their privateers, yet their loſs in ſhips of their royal navy, which were taken or deſtroyed, was far more conſiderable than that of the *Engliſh*. For it was computed that in engagements with the *Engliſh* they loſt about ſixty men of war and frigates, and among them thirty-one from thirty to a hundred and four guns; whereas the *Engliſh* loſt but fifty, among which were only nineteen from thirty to ſeventy. It has likewiſe been computed, that through the care of the government, the royal navy of *England* was, at the end of this war, increaſed about one third part in bulk and force of ſhips, more than in the year 1688.

During the ſhort Interval between this and the ſucceeding war, a difference ariſing between the two *Northern* crowns, Sir *George Rook*, at the head of a fleet of twenty-three *Engliſh* and *Dutch* men of war, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips and bomb-veſſels, was ſent *Anno* 1701, to the *Baltick*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Swedes*. He was joined *July* 6, without oppoſition from the *Danes*, by the *Swediſh* fleet conſiſting of thirty-four ſail of men of war and frigates,

frigates, five fire-ſhips, and a bomb-veſſel. Upon this conjunction, the *Daniſh* fleet, of twenty-eight ſhips of the line, retired before *Copenhagen*, where they ſecured themſelves by ſunk veſſels, by *Prahms* (or floating batteries) and booms laid athwart the harbour. However, the bomb-veſſels were brought ſo near, that they were twice bombarded; but with very little ſucceſs. Soon after this, the king of *Sweden* landed with a body of troops near *Elſeneur*, under protection of the confederate fleet, and preparations were made for laying ſiege to *Copenhagen*: Upon which, the king of *Denmark* thought fit to come to an accommodation; and the peace was accordingly concluded at *Travendal*, *Aug.* 18, the ſame year.

The *French* court, by their refined politicks, having found means to ſet the duke of *Anjou*, ſecond ſon of the *Dauphin*, on the throne of *Spain*, in defiance of the moſt ſolemn treaties, this produced a new war between the confederates and the crowns of *France* and *Spain* in conjunction.

The firſt conſiderable action that employed the naval forces of the confederates in *Europe*, was the attempt on *Cadiz*: On which occaſion, Sir *George Rook* commanded the fleet, and the late duke of *Ormond* headed the troops, conſiſting of about ten thouſand men. The fleet being arrived in the *Bay of Bulls*, the troops landed *Aug.* 15, *Anno* 1702. About an hundred

hundred *Engliſh* granadiers, who were firſt ſet on ſhoar, under command of Colonel *Pierce*, were immediately attack'd by a body of *Spaniſh* horſe, headed by a lieutenant-general; but they ſtood ſo firm, and made ſo brisk a fire, that the lieutenant-general was killed, and the horſe were put to the rout. The reſt of the troops being landed, notwithſtanding the hot fire of the enemy from *Fort St. Catharine*, and divers batteries (from which the *Spaniards* were at laſt driven by the cannon of the frigates which favoured the landing) the army marched the next day to *Rota*; which was immediately ſurrendered. On the 20th, they marched to *Port St. Mary's*, the *Spaniards* retreating before them: Whereupon the place was entered without any oppoſition, being abandoned by the garriſon and inhabitants. Here the ſoldiers drinking too freely of the *Spaniſh* wines could not be kept under diſcipline, but plundered the town, which was very rich: Nor were ſome of the officers leſs guilty than the private ſoldiers. This much exaſperated the people of the country, and proved very prejudicial to the affairs of king *Charles*, to ſupport whoſe title againſt the duke of *Anjou*, the expedition was chiefly undertaken. On the 22d, a party was ſent which took poſſeſſion of *Fort St. Catherine*, near the landing-place. But after this, nothing was attempted againſt *Cadiz* for a conſiderable time: Which long

delay

delay gave opportunity to the enemy to ſecure the paſſage into the harbour, by a ſtrong boom, and divers veſſels which they ſunk; ſo that it was afterwards judged impracticable to force it, while the two forts of the *Puntal* and *Matagorda* were unreduced. The *Matagorda* was therefore attempted by a body of ſix thouſand men, commanded by baron *Spar*, the *Dutch* general: But the troops being expoſed to the fire of ſeven *Spaniſh* men of war, and eight gallies, and the ground being ſo boggy, as not to admit of trenches deep enough to cover the men, nor of batteries for planting the heavy cannon, 'twas thought proper to retire from the fort, after having burnt the magazines at *Port Real*. The deſign to reduce *Cadiz* being found impracticable, the army drew off; and, having burnt and deſtroyed all the ſtores at *Port St. Mary*'s and *Rota*, returned on board. The reſolution of retiring a-board was the rather taken, becauſe no *Spaniards* of note had come in and declared for king *Charles*, as was expected.

The fleet, having miſs'd of the deſired ſucceſs, was returning home, when captain *Hardy*, of the *Pembroke*, brought the welcome news of the arrival of the galleons at *Vigo*, a port of *Gallicia*, under convoy of a ſquadron of *French* men of war. Hereupon, it was immediately reſolved to ſail thither. The fleet being arrived off the harbour, ſixteen

*Engliſh*, and ten *Dutch* men of war, were ſent in, and the late duke of *Ormond* was landed with a body of two thouſand, five hundred men. Though the troops were obliged to march up craggy hills, in the face of an army of eight thouſand *Spaniards*, before they could come at the forts which guarded the entrance of the harbour; yet they acted with ſuch courage and reſolution, that the *Spaniards* were ſoon repuls'd. The enemies had not only provided the forts with all neceſſaries, but had raiſed ſeveral batteries, and laid a ſtrong boom a-croſs the harbour. But the troops having attack'd and maſtered the neareſt fort and batteries, the boom could not long retard the fate of the enemy's fleet. Vice-admiral *Hopſon*, in the *Torbay*, who was the firſt that entered within the boom, (for the breaking of which, he was afterwards knighted, and obtained a conſiderable penſion) was immediately laid a-board by one of the *French* fire-ſhips. But the fire-ſhip, being partly laden with ſnuff, and blowing up ſoon after, the flames were almoſt extinguiſh'd by the ſnuff; ſo that through the diligence of the officers and ſailors, who remained a-board, (for divers had leap'd into the water) the ſhip was preſerved. The *French* men of war, which lay ranged behind the boom, in the form of an half-moon, fired very briskly at firſt; but, after a fight of about half an hour, the

the enemies fell into confuſion, and ſet fire to ſeveral of their own ſhips. They conſiſted of fifteen men of war, from ſeventy-ſix to forty-two guns, two frigates and a fire-ſhip; of which five were brought off by the *Engliſh*, and one by the *Dutch*, the reſt being either burnt or bilged. The galleons (which had run up the river as far as they conveniently could) were ſeventeen; four of which were taken afloat, and two aſhoar, by the *Engliſh*, and five by the *Dutch*: The others were burnt.

The booty taken by the confederates was very conſiderable. For tho' fourteen millions of pieces of eight were carried aſhoar, before their arrival, yet 'twas computed that ſix millions ſtill remained on board, beſides vaſt quantities of rich goods.

Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* arriving ſoon after the action, was left at *Vigo* by the admiral, with orders to refit and bring home ſuch of the *French* and *Spaniſh* ſhips as were in a condition to put to Sea, and to deſtroy the reſt. This was accordingly executed; and a galleon which lay on ſhoar being unloaded, and an hundred and ten large braſs guns being taken from the batteries and out of ſome of the *French* men of war that were bilged, the goods and cannon were brought with the other prizes to *England*.

The following year was not very remarkable for actions at Sea: Only ſeven *French*

men of war and large privateers from *Dunkirk* attacking the *Salisbury* and *Adventure*, which were convoys to ſome merchant-ſhips homeward bound from *Holland*, the former was taken, with ſeveral merchant-ſhips, after a brave defence: And two *French* men of war of fifty-two and fifty guns, called the *Auguſt* and the *Hazardous*, as alſo two *Spaniſh* galleon men of war of ſixty guns each, called the *Santa Thereſa* and the *Porta Cœli*, were taken, at ſeveral times, by the *Engliſh*.

But that which rendered the year 1703, particularly remarkable was the dreadful hurricane which happened *November* 26th at night. It would be endleſs as well as foreign to our deſign to enter on a detail of the loſſes it occaſioned by land: The loſs ſuffered by Sea, with regard to the royal navy, was computed to be thirteen men of war and frigates. Rear-admiral *Beaumont* in the *Mary* was drowned, and Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* and Sir *Stafford Fairborn* were very much endangered, being driven to the coaſt of *Norway*. A great number of merchant-ſhips were miſſing, ſome of which ſaved themſelves in foreign ports, and others, after having ſuffered extremely at Sea, returned much diſabled. But the loſs of Seamen was moſt deplorable. Yet thro' the wiſdom and zeal of the parliament (which immediately voted the building of double the number of men of war) and the prudent

meaſures

meaſures taken by the government, for the encouragement and increaſe of Seamen, this great calamity became an advantage.

Sir *George Rook* being ſent, the following year, with the confederate fleet to the *Mediterranean*, and receiving intelligence of the weakneſs of the garriſon of *Gibraltar*, formed a deſign to reduce that important place. For this purpoſe, having firſt landed the marines, to cut off the communication with the main, he ſent a ſummons to the governor, to ſurrender to his catholick majeſty king *Charles* III. Upon his refuſal, twenty-two men of war, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, commanded by rear-admiral *Byng*, were ordered to cannonade the town; which was done for ſeveral hours with great fury, it being computed that fifteen thouſand ſhot were fired. By this means the enemy was driven from the battery at the ſouth-mole-head; upon which the boats were manned and ſent under captain *Whitaker* (afterwards Sir *Edward*) to take poſſeſſion of it. This was executed with the utmoſt bravery. But the *Spaniards* having laid a train to the powder-magazine, it blew up, and killed and wounded above an hundred men: Notwithſtanding which, the ſailors advanced and took a redoubt between the mole and the town. The conſequence was, that though the place was very ſtrong both by nature and art (having an hundred

cannon planted towards the Sea) yet the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender, about the end of *June*, after an attack of three days.

In *Auguſt*, near *Cape Malaga*, happened the only general engagement of this war. The confederate fleet conſiſted of fifty-three ſhips, under command of Sir *George Rook*, and the *French* were fifty-two ſhips (for the moſt part very large) and twenty-four gallies, commanded by the count *De Tholouſe*, high-admiral of *France*. In leſs than two hours after the fight was begun by the confederates, the enemy's van, being vigorouſly preſs'd by Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, began to give way; as did their rear ſoon after, being no leſs vigorouſly attack'd by the *Dutch*. But the enemies being very ſtrong in the center, and ſome of the *Engliſh* ſhips being obliged to go out of the line, for want of ſhot (occaſioned by the great expence of it at *Gibraltar*) ſeveral of Sir *George Rook*'s own ſquadron ſuffered very much. About ſeven in the evening, one of the *French* admiral's ſeconds advanced out of the line, and began a cloſe engagement with the *St. George*, commanded by Sir *John Jennings*; but, notwithſtanding that the *St. George* had already ſuffered much, ſhe met with ſuch rough treatment, that ſhe had difficulty enough to rejoin the line, after the loſs of both her captains, and abundance of her men. The whole *French* fleet (according

to

to our accounts) retired ſoon after, and the next day were out of ſight.

Tho' the ſtrength of both parties in men of war had been equal, (whereas the *French* had ſome hundreds of cannon more than the confederates) yet the *French*, whoſe ſhips were clean, full manned, well provided with ammunition, and aſſiſted by gallies which could tow them off or on at pleaſure, would have had great advantages. The killed and wounded, on the ſide of the confederates, were two thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſixty-eight; but not a ſhip was loſt, during the fight. On the other ſide, the *French* confeſs but fifteen hundred men killed and wounded, and pretend that the confederates firſt quitted the place of battle *. But whatever they may pretend, 'tis certain that the iſſue of this general engagement deprived them of the inclination to hazard another. For, after this, they never ventured their fleet at Sea; but contented themſelves with ſending out ſquadrons to diſturb the commerce of the confederates, by attacking their convoys; of which we ſhall hear more anon.

The loſs of *Gibraltar* was ſo ſenſible a blow to *Spain*, that a reſolution was ſoon taken to attempt to regain it. Accordingly, in the beginning of *October*, the ſame year, a *French* ſquadron of nineteen ſhips, great and ſmall,



* Father *Daniel's* Hiſt. of *France*. Vol. 5.

came into the bay, with deſign to beſiege the place by Sea, while the marquis *De Villadarias* with eight thouſand men, *French* and *Spaniards*, did the ſame by land. However, the *French*, having landed ſix battalions, thought proper, for the moſt part, to quit the bay, leaving only ſix frigates, from forty to twenty guns. Upon advice of this, Sir *John Leake*, who was left with part of the confederate fleet in thoſe Seas, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to repair to the relief of the place. His arrival there, on the 25th of *October*, with fourteen *Engliſh*, and ſix *Dutch* men of war from *Lisbon*, was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that he ſurprized two of the enemy's frigates of thirty-four guns each, one of twelve, a fire-ſhip, a tartan, and two *Engliſh* prizes, all which, being run a-ſhoar, were burnt; and one of thirty guns was taken: Whereupon, having reinforced the garriſon with two thouſand men, he returned to *Lisbon*.

In the end of *February* following, Sir *John* received advice, that monſieur *Pointy* was arrived in the bay of *Gibraltar* with fourteen men of war, and two fire-ſhips, and that the *French* and *Spaniſh* army deſigned to make a general aſſault upon the town. Hereupon, he ſailed again to its relief. *March* 9, he diſcovered five ſail of the enemies making out of the bay, to follow the reſt of their ſquadron, which

which went off, upon the firſt notice of his approach. Theſe he immediately gave chaſe to; and ſoon after, one of them, called the *Arrogant*, carrying ſixty guns, was taken; as were two others, *viz.* the *Ardent* of ſixty-ſix, and the *Marquiſe* of fifty-ſix, after ſome little reſiſtance. The other two, called the *Magnanime* of ſeventy-four, and the *Lis* of eighty-ſix guns, were run a-ſhoar, and burnt by the enemies themſelves.

Thus *Gibraltar* was the ſecond time relieved, when reduced to the laſt extremity. Upon which, the enemy, deſpairing of ſucceſs, broke up the ſiege, after the loſs of a great part of their troops, by the brave defence of the prince of *Heſſe Darmſtad* and the *Engliſh* garriſon.

King *Charles*, having received an invitation from his adherents in *Catalonia*, the neceſſary preparations were made for his landing in that province, with a body of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* troops, to aſſert his right to the crown of *Spain*. Every thing being ready, the fleet, under command of Sir *John Leake*, ſailed the ſame year (being 1705) to *Barcelona*, the capital of *Catalonia*: Where the troops, conſiſting of about three thouſand men, being landed and joined by a body of four or five thouſand *Catalans*, that city, in which was a numerous garriſon, was beſieged by Sea and Land, and reduced, in a ſhort time, to the obedience

obedience of king *Charles*, who made it his place of reſidence. But the brave prince of *Heſſe Darmſtad* was unfortunately killed in the attack upon *Fort Mont Joui.*

In order to regain this important place, a *French* army, conſiſting of about twenty thouſand men, under command of the mareſchal *De Teſſe*, was ſent to form the ſiege by Land, while a ſtrong ſquadron block'd it up by Sea. The ſiege had laſted near ſix weeks, when the garriſon and inhabitants (together with the king) being reduced to great extremities, were ſeaſonably relieved in the beginning of *May* 1706, by the confederate fleet, at whoſe approach, the enemy's ſquadron retired; as did their army, ſoon after, upon the landing of a body of troops, under the earl of *Peterborough*. The enemies left behind them a hundred and ſix pieces of braſs-cannon, forty-ſeven mortars, two thouſand bombs, ten thouſand grenadoes, forty thouſand cannon-bullets, five thouſand barrels of powder, five hundred barrels of musket-ſhot, and a vaſt quantity of proviſions, with many of their ſick and wounded men. In their retreat, they were much haraſs'd, both by the miquelets and regular troops.

The fleet afterwards ſailed to attack *Carthagena*, and from thence proceeded to *Alicant*, where a body of *Engliſh* ſailors, headed by their proper Sea-officers, ſignalized themſelves by

by mounting the breach, and taking the town, after the grenadiers, who ſtorm'd it, had been repuls'd: Which brave exploit was ſoon after followed by the ſurrender of the caſtle.

The iſlands of *Yvica* and *Majorca* ſurrendered, on the firſt approach of the fleet.

The ſame year (being 1706) there happen'd ſeveral ſharp engagements between the *French* ſquadrons and ſome *Engliſh* convoys. Three *Engliſh* men of war, *viz.* the *Royal-Oak*, the *Hampton-Court*, and the *Grafton*, from ſeventy to ſeventy-ſix guns, with ſeveral merchant-ſhips under their convoy, were attack'd in the *Channel*, by the chevalier *de St. Paul*, with nine *French* men of war from *Dunkirk*, of between fifty and ſixty guns, and ſeveral ſtout privateers. After a very long and deſperate fight, the *Grafton* and *Hampton-Court* were obliged to ſurrender, (one of the captains being killed, and the other mortally wounded) and were carried to *Dunkirk*, with five or ſix of the merchant-ſhips: But the chevalier *de St. Paul* loſt his life in the engagement. Soon after this misfortune, there happened another; for commadore *Edwards*, with the *Devonſhire*, *Cumberland*, *Royal-Oak*, *Cheſter* and *Ruby*, from fifty to eighty guns, falling in, near the *Land's-end*, with the united ſquadrons of monſieur *Fourbin* and monſieur *Du Guai Trouin*, conſiſting of twelve ſhips, from forty to ſeventy-two guns,

and

and being much overpowered, the *Cumberland* of eighty, and the *Cheſter* and *Ruby* of fifty guns each were taken after a bloody fight; and the *Devonſhire* of eighty guns blew up, but the *Royal-Oak*, after having cleared her decks of the enemy who boarded her, eſcaped a ſecond time, as did moſt of the merchant-ſhips under their convoy.

On the other ſide, the *Rumney* of fifty guns, captain *Cony* commander, brought off from under the cannon of *Malaga* a *French* ſhip of ſixteen guns with thirty pieces of braſs cannon on board, being part of thoſe which belonged to monſieur *Pointy*'s ſhips that were forced on ſhore near *Gibraltar* by Sir *John Leake*. And ſoon after, in company of the *Milford* and *Foway*, the ſame captain attacked a *French* man of war of ſixty-four guns lying under a caſtle near *Almeria*, which blew up, during the engagement. He afterwards ſingly attack'd and took a man of war of forty-four guns, called the *Mercury*.

The confederates, to give an effectual proof of their being maſters at Sea, and at the ſame time to take the moſt effectual meaſures to remain ſo, made an attempt ſoon after on the harbour of *Thoulon*, the ſtation of the capital ſhips of the *French* royal navy. For this purpoſe an army of thirty-five thouſand men, headed by the duke of *Savoy* and prince *Eugene*, marched from *Piedmont* along the

the coaſt of *Provence*, being attended by the grand fleet under Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*. The fleet being come before the mouth of the river *Var* (which it was neceſſary for the army to paſs in their way to *Thoulon*) Sir *Cloudeſley* brought his ſhips ſo near, that he forced the enemy's troops that guarded the oppoſite bank of the river out of their works; ſo that Sir *John Norris*, landing with five or ſix hundred ſeamen and marines, took poſſeſſion of them without reſiſtance. The fleet and army being arrived before *Thoulon*, the ſiege was undertaken: But the mareſchal *De Teſſe* having by haſty marches prevented the confederates, and taken poſſeſſion of the out-works of the place with forty battalions, they found ſuch reſiſtance that the army was obliged to retreat. The town was however bombarded by the fleet (after the taking of the forts of *St. Margaret* and *St. Lewis* at the entrance of the harbour) and the magazine of cordage together with divers fine buildings were laid in aſhes. To prevent the firing of the men of war which lay in the harbour, the enemy ſunk about twenty of them (ten or more being three-deck ſhips) which were all ſo damaged that they were never after fit for ſervice.

Sir *Cloudeſley*, returning home from this expedition with part of the fleet, had the miſfortune to be caſt away in hazy weather

in

in his brave ſhip the *Aſſociation* of ninety guns, upon the rocks of *Scilly*. The ſame diſaſter befell two other men of war, *viz.* the *Eagle* of ſeventy, and the *Rumney* of fifty guns, commanded by the captains *Hancock* and *Cony*, which were alſo loſt with all their men, together with the *Fire-brand* fire-ſhip; the other ſhips in their company eſcaping with great difficulty. The body of the admiral was found ſome time after, and honourably interred in *Weſtminſter-Abbey* with a monument and inſcription ſuitable to his great merit.

The enemy, broken with misfortunes both by Land and Sea, was willing to make an experiment, which, had it met with ſucceſs, would have effectually retrieved his affairs. A project was formed to land the pretender to the *Britiſh* crown in *Scotland*, where he had at that time a conſiderable party. With this view, a ſquadron of fifteen ſail, under command of monſieur *Fourbin* was fitted out, and a body of troops conſiſting of twelve battalions embarqued at *Dunkirk*. But the *Britiſh* court having timely notice of the deſign, a fleet of forty men of war was got ready with ſuch expedition, under the conduct of Sir *George Byng*, that the enemies being purſued and overtaken on the coaſt of *Scotland*, were obliged to quit their enterprize with the loſs of a man of war of fifty guns, formerly

formerly taken from the *Engliſh*, and called the *Salisbury*, on board of which were found five companies of the troops, together with the lords *Griffin* and *Clermont*, the marquis *De Levi* (a *French* lieutenant-general) and divers others of note.

In the year 1708, Sir *John Leake*, who commanded the grand fleet in the room of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, met in the *Mediterranean* with a fleet of ninety ſattees and tartans laden with proviſions for the *French* army in the *Ampourdan*, and convoyed by three frigates; of which fleet above ſeventy were taken; but, it being calm, the frigates eſcaped, by means of their oars.

It being afterwards reſolved to attempt *Sardinia*, Sir *John* with the groſs of the fleet arrived, *Aug.* 1, before *Cagliari*, the capital of that iſland, which he bombarded all night, and the next morning landed the marines and a *Spaniſh* regiment, under command of major-general *Wills*; whereupon the governor ſurrendered; which example was followed by the whole iſland.

Soon after, part of the fleet being commanded by Sir *Edward Whitaker*, with a body of troops conſiſting of two thouſand four hundred men, under lieutenant-general *Stanhope*, made an attempt on *Port-Mahon:* which place, together with the whole iſland of *Minorca*, was reduced about the middle of *September*

*tember.* Thus the *Engliſh*, with very little loſs, became maſters of one of the moſt convenient harbours of the *Mediterranean.* There were found in the place above an hundred guns mounted, and the garriſon conſiſted of eight hundred effective men well provided with all neceſſaries.

The ſame year, my lord *Durſley*, after having taken ſeveral privateers and other veſſels near *Plymouth*, retook an *Engliſh* man of war, called the *Briſtol*, of fifty guns, and took a *French* ſhip of war, called the *Gloire*, of forty-four guns; and afterwards giving chaſe to monſieur *Du Guai Trouin* in his ſhip, the *Achilles*, he followed him ſo cloſe that he made his eſcape with great difficulty.

In the year 1709, the *Engliſh* frigates in the *Mediterranean* took between ſixty and ſeventy prizes from the enemy; among which was a man of war of fifty-ſix guns, called the *Galliard*, as alſo three rich ſhips from *Turkey* and as many from *Marſeilles*, and a fleet of above fifty ſail, laden with proviſions for the *French* troops.

About the end of the year, the *Pembroke* and *Falcon* of ſixty-four, and thirty-two guns, being attack'd near *Nice* by three *French* men of war, of ſeventy, ſixty, and fifty-four guns, the former, after the loſs of the captain and a hundred and forty men killed and wounded, was much diſabled, and obliged to ſurrender

render; as was the *Falcon* ſoon after. On the the other ſide, the *Warſpight* and *Breda*, of ſeventy guns each, took near *Cape Roxent*, after a ſhort, but warm diſpute, a *French* ſhip of war of fifty-four guns, called the *Moor*.

The year following, Sir *John Norris*, being with the fleet in the *Mediterranean*, received advice, in the beginning of *June*, that the duke of *Turſis* was ſailed with his ſquadron of *Spaniſh* gallies, and ſome ſattees with troops, to make a deſcent on *Sardinia*: Whereupon, he approached that iſland, to prevent the deſign. But, ere he arrived, they had landed four hundred men, and taken the town of *Terra Nova*. However, it was ſoon retaken by ſome *Engliſh* forces, which were put on ſhoar under general *Brown*; and four ſattees, which had landed the enemy's troops, were ſeiz'd. After this, Sir *John*, purſuing the duke to the coaſt of *Corſica*, took ſeven more of his ſattees at anchor, near *Adjazzo*, with all his proviſions; but the duke with his gallies had the good fortune to eſcape.

The ſame year, a project was formed by one monſieur *De Seiſan* (formerly a major-general in the *French* ſervice, but diſguſted) to carry the war into *France*, and, by joining the *Proteſtants* of the *Cevennes*, to make a diverſion in favour of king *Charles*. With this view, a landing was undertaken with about four thouſand men, under major-general *Stanhope*, near

*Cette*, a ſea-port of *Languedoc*, in the neighbourhood of the *Cevennes*; which place was ſoon taken, as was alſo the town of *Agde*. But the dukes *De Roquelaur* and *Noailles* coming down with a great body of troops, they were obliged to return a-board, with the loſs of fifty men, who retired not in time from a certain advanced fort.

To conclude the war in *Europe*, many prizes were taken by the *Engliſh* frigates in the *Mediterranean*, and near the coaſts of *France* and *Portugal*: And on the other ſide, the *Advice*, a ſmall *Engliſh* fourth-rate, commanded by the lord *Duffus*, was taken by ſeveral large privateers, after a ſharp fight, wherein the *Engliſh* ſhip was much ſhattered, many of her men were killed and diſabled, and his lordſhip himſelf received no leſs than eight wounds.

The beginning of the war in *America* was unfortunate, through the loſs of vice-admiral *Bembow*, a perſon, who, from a mean original, had raiſed himſelf to that high ſtation by his extraordinary merit. This brave ſeaman being ſent with a ſquadron of ſix men of war to the *Weſt-Indies*, and going in ſearch of monſieur *Du Caſſe*, (who was carrying the *Spaniſh* duke of *Albuquerque* to his government of *Mexico* with a good number of troops a-board) took and deſtroyed, by the way, eight or ten merchant-ſhips, and a man of war, capable of carrying fifty guns. Afterwards diſcovering

monſieur

monſieur *Du Caſſe*, with four large ſhips of war, and a frigate of thirty guns, together with ſome ſmaller veſſels, he gave him chaſe, and coming up with him on the 19th of *Auguſt*, 1702, towards night, engaged him with great reſolution. The chaſe and fight were renewed by the vice-admiral, ſeveral days ſucceſſively. But, divers of his captains keeping a-ſtern, the *Ruby* (one of the *Engliſh* ſhips, whoſe captain had behaved very bravely) was ſo diſabled, that on the fifth day ſhe was ſent to *Jamaica* to refit: And the ſame day, the vice-admiral, who continued the chaſe almoſt alone, being cloſely engaged with one of the enemy's ſhips, had his right leg broken by a chain-ſhot, of which hurt he died ſoon after at *Jamaica*. A ſeventy-gun ſhip of the enemy was ſo diſabled, that, had the vice-admiral been well ſeconded, ſhe muſt infallibly have fallen into his hands: But, for want of aſſiſtance, he was not only deprived of this advantage, but being himſelf dangerouſly wounded, and his ſhip much ſhattered, he was at laſt obliged to give over the chaſe. Two of his captains (*viz. Kirkby* of the *Defiance*, and *Wade* of the *Greenwich*) were afterwards ſhot, and a third (*viz. Conſtable* of the *Windſor*) was caſhier'd and impriſon'd, for neglect of duty.

Monſieur *Du Caſſe* returning from the *Weſt-Indies* with his four men of war, very richly laden, was met *March* 18, 172$\frac{3}{4}$, by vice-admiral

miral *Graydon* with four ſhips of like force; one of which came up with, and engaged his ſternmoſt ſhip: But *Du Caſſe*, making the beſt of his way, eſcaped the ſecond time.

In the year 1703, the *Engliſh*, under command of rear-admiral *Whetſtone*, entering the *French* haven of *Petit-Guavas*, took or deſtroyed three ſtout privateers, and four merchant-ſhips. And commadore *Walker*, making an attempt on the *French* iſland *Guadalupe*, landed in the very face of the enemy, and took the town, forcing the *French* to blow up the fort and caſtle, and to retire into the woods: Upon which, the *Engliſh* plundered and burnt the town, and deſtroyed the country. Nor were theſe the only loſſes ſuſtained by the enemy. For about the ſame time, captain *John Leake* (afterwards Sir *John*) ſailing with a ſmall ſquadron to *Newfoundland*, took or deſtroyed no leſs than fifty-one ſhips, and ruined all the *French* ſettlements on the iſland.

After theſe exploits, nothing remarkable happen'd on that ſide of the globe, till the year 1708; when, in the month of *May*, commadore *Wager* (now Sir *Charles*) with three men of war, and a fire-ſhip, met and attack'd the *Spaniſh* galleons, being twelve in number, in company with five other ſhips. The commadore, in his ſhip the *Expedition*, engaged the *Spaniſh* admiral, carrying ſixty-four guns, and ſix hundred men, which, after a diſpute of an hour

hour and an half, blew up with many (ſome ſay thirty) millions of pieces of eight value in gold and ſilver. He next attack'd the rear-admiral, being a ſhip of forty-four guns, and tho' it was become almoſt dark, obliged her to ſurrender with a cargoe ſo conſiderable, that his ſhare alone was ſaid to amount to an hundred thouſand pounds. The vice-admiral, of ſixty-four guns, had the fortune to eſcape from the other *Engliſh* ſhips with a prodigious treaſure. That thoſe three ſhips were immenſely rich may eaſily be believed; both becauſe they were ſaid to have had the whole treaſure of gold and ſilver aboard, and likewiſe, becauſe the galleons had not returned to *Europe* in ſeveral years. Another galleon, of forty guns, was run a-ſhoar, ſoon after the action, and blown up, to prevent her falling into the hands of the *Engliſh*. Commadore *Wager*, for his bravery ſhewn upon this occaſion, was afterwards made rear-admiral of the *Blue*.

Though the vice-admiral of the galleons eſcaped for that time; yet ſhe never arrived in *Spain*. For, ſome time after, commadore *Littleton*, with a ſquadron of five men of war, giving chaſe, on the coaſt of *New-Spain*, to four ſhips, one of the largeſt, being the mentioned vice-admiral, was taken: But moſt of the treaſure had a little before been removed a-board a *French* man of war. A *French* mer-

merchant-ſhip, which was in her company, was likewiſe taken; as was a man of war of the ſame nation, carrying forty guns, and called the *Thetis*, ſoon after.

About the end of the year 1709, an attempt was made upon *Port-Royal*, on the coaſt of *Nova-Scotia*, in *North-America*, by a ſquadron of five frigates, and a bomb-veſſel, under commadore *Martin*, and a body of two thouſand land-forces, commanded by colonel *Nicholſon*. The troops being landed, batteries were raiſed againſt the fort; which playing briskly upon the place, at the ſame time that it was bombarded from the bomb-veſſel, the *French* governor was ſoon obliged to capitulate, and the *Engliſh*, taking poſſeſſion, changed the name to *Annapolis-Royal*. The place was of conſiderable ſtrength, being furniſhed with ſixty pieces of cannon mounted, and defended by a good garriſon.

Soon after this, a project was formed againſt *Quebec*, the chief town of *Canada*, likewiſe in *North America*. The attempt was made in the year 1711, by Sir *Hovenden Walker*, with a ſquadron of men of war and a number of tranſports, having on board ſeven regiments and a battalion of marines, under command of brigadier *Hill*. But the fleet, being advanced a conſiderable way up the river of *St. Lawrence*, was ſurpriſed with a thick fog (an inconvenience to which that river is very ſubject)

ſubject) ſo that, not knowing how to ſteer, eight of the tranſports were driven by the ſtream on the rocks, and loſt with eight or nine hundred ſoldiers and ſeamen: Which misfortune prevented the execution of the deſign.

Sir *Hovenden Walker* was ſent again, the following year, with a ſquadron to *America*; but nothing remarkable happened, beſides the taking of a few prizes. On the other ſide, a *French* ſquadron under monſieur *Caſſard*, with a body of four or five thouſand land-forces, did great damage on the iſlands *Nevis* and *St. Chriſtopher's*: But, attempting to make the ſame ravages on *Monſerat*, they were obliged to quit the iſland with precipitation, upon the approach of the *Engliſh* ſquadron.

While theſe actions paſſed between the ſeveral governments in the *Weſtern Ocean*, ſome private adventurers of *Briſtol* undertook to carry the war into the *South-Sea*. With this view, they fitted out two veſſels called the *Duke* and the *Dutcheſs*; the former carrying thirty guns and an hundred and ſeventy men, the latter twenty-ſix guns, and a hundred and fifty men, under the command of captain *Woodes Rogers* and captain *Stephen Courtney*. Theſe ſailed from *Briſtol* in the beginning of *Auguſt* 1708, taking with them the noted captain *Dampier*, whoſe celebrated voyages, in that Sea and round the

globe of the earth, had qualified him to aſſiſt as pilot. In *April* 1709, after having taken ſeveral conſiderable prizes, they landed on the iſland *Puna* in the *South-Sea*, near the main land of *Peru*, making themſelves maſters of the town, and ſeizing the governor of the iſland. They next attempted the town of *Guayaquil* on the coaſt of *Peru*, conſiſting of about five hundred houſes, and beautified with three churches; which place was likewiſe taken and plundered in ſpite of all the reſiſtance of a conſiderable body of *Spaniards*, and was afterwards ranſomed (together with two new ſhips, of four hundred tons each, and ſeveral barques, which were ſeized on the river) for thirty thouſand dollars. Going farther up the river, they ſeized ſome plate and other things of value, which they found partly in ſome cannoes which were retiring up into the country, and partly in the houſes along the river's ſide. Sailing from thence, they took two more prizes, and, afterwards landing on the main, they plundered a *Spaniſh* village. At this time, the money and prize-goods, belonging to the owners of the privateers, were computed to amount to eighty thouſand pounds.

Off *Puerto Seguro*, in the iſland of *California*, they met, and, after an engagement of half an hour, took a ſhip belonging to *Acapulco*, of four hundred and fifty tons, carrying twenty guns, and

and as many braſs *Pedreros*. The ſhip came from *Manila*, in company of another very large one, being both bound home with *Eaſt-India* goods. The cargoe of the prize, according to the report of the priſoners, amounted to two millions of *dollars*. They afterwards met and attack'd the greater *Acapulco*-ſhip: But being a very ſtrong new ſhip, of above nine hundred tons burthen, mounted with forty guns, and as many braſs *Pedreros*, and manned with ſix hundred ſeamen, whereof near an hundred and fifty were *Engliſh*, *Iriſh*, and other *Europeans*, they were obliged to leave her, after having engaged her two days ſucceſſively, and both done, and ſuffered, conſiderable damage. Hereupon, they reſolved to return home, by the way of the *Eaſt-Indies*, with the leſſer *Manila*-ſhip, of which captain *Dover*, ſecond captain of the *Duke*, was made commander. They happily arrived in the *Downs* with the three ſhips, *October* 2d, 1711, after having ſailed round the globe of the earth, in the ſpace of three years, and two months; in which voyage they had taken two *Spaniſh* towns, and twenty prizes.

During this war, the *French* privateers had much leſs ſucceſs, than in the former war; ſeveral hundreds of them being either taken or deſtroyed by the *Engliſh* frigates. The enemy's loſs in ſhips of the royal navy (not including the *Spaniſh*) was likewiſe far greater than

than that of the *Engliſh*: For 'tis computed, that they loſt fifty-two, and among them forty, from thirty to a hundred guns; whereas the *Engliſh* loſt but thirty-eight, and among them but twenty-five, from thirty to eighty.

Though the advantages gained to the *Britiſh* nation by the treaty of *Utrecht* (which put an end to this war) fell ſhort of what might have been expected from the glorious ſucceſſes of their arms, both by Sea and Land; yet the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion to the crown in the illuſtrious houſe of *Hanover*, was acknowledged by the *French* monarch; The union of *France* and *Spain* was provided againſt: The benefit of the *Aſſiento* trade, together with the privilege of ſending a large ſhip every year directly to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, was granted to the *South-Sea Company*: *Gibraltar* and the iſland of *Minorca* were yielded to the crown of *Great Britain*: *Hudſon's Bay* and *Streights* were reſtored, and all damages, ſuſtained by the *Engliſh* company trading thither, made good: All right of the *French* nation to any part of the iſland of St. *Chriſtopher*'s was renounced: *Nova Scotia* (or *Accadie*) as alſo the city of *Port-Royal* (now called *Annapolis Royal*) and their dependencies, were left in poſſeſſion of the *Britiſh* nation: Such parts of *Newfoundland*, as were poſſeſs'd by the *French*, were given up: The haven and fortifications of *Dunkirk* (which had coſt immenſe ſums) were filled up,

and

and entirely demoliſh'd: And, by the interpoſition of his preſent majeſty, ſince his happy acceſſion to the crown, a ſtop was put to the making of the new canal of *Mardyke*; without which, the demoliſhing of *Dunkirk* would have been no real benefit to the *Britiſh* nation.

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# CHAP. VII.

## *An Account of the* Britiſh Sea-Affairs, *from the* Peace of Utrecht *to the* Ceſſation of Arms *between* Great Britain *and* Spain.

THE war in the *North* (which began at the end of the laſt century) between the *Czar* of *Muſcovy* and the kings of *Denmark* and *Poland* on the one ſide, and the king of *Sweden* on the other, continuing to give great diſturbance to the commerce of the *Baltick*, a ſquadron of men of war, under command of Sir *John Norris*, admiral of the *Blue*, was ſent about the middle of *May* 1715, to protect the *Britiſh* trade in that Sea. This proceeding, together with certain late engagements with ſome of the *Northern* powers, ſo exaſperated the *Swediſh* court, that they entered

tered into meaſures, which (tho' purſued with the utmoſt ſecrecy) could not, it ſeems, be long concealed from the vigilance and penetration of the *Britiſh* miniſtry. The diſcovery of thoſe meaſures appeared, to the ſurprize of all the world, by the arreſting of count *Gyllenberg*, the *Swediſh* envoy to the court of *Great Britain*, and the ſeizing of his papers; as alſo by ſecuring the perſon and papers of baron *Gortz*, the *Swediſh* miniſter in *Holland*. Some of which papers being afterwards publiſhed, it was ſeen in what manner a deſign had been carried on to raiſe a rebellion in *Britain*, which was to have been ſupported by an invaſion from *Sweden*. The conduct of *Sweden*, in this affair, was ſo reſentedby the *Britiſh* court, that the commerce with that kingdom was prohibited, and a ſquadron of thirty ſhips was ſent to the *Baltick*, under command of Sir *George Byng*, who block'd up the *Swediſh* fleet in *Carelſcroon*, and took ſeveral ſhips by way of repriſal, for damage ſuſtained by the *Britiſh* merchants. This miſunderſtanding between the two courts continued, till thedeath of the late king of *Sweden*, who was killed, *November* 30th, 1718, at the ſiege of *Frederikſhal* in *Norway*: Soon after which, matters were adjuſted to mutual ſatisfaction.

The treaty of *Utrecht*, and that of *Baden*, which followed it, did not ſo effectually ſettle the repoſe of the *Southern Parts* of *Europe*, as

to

to leave no room for fears and jealouſies of deſigns to rekindle a war, which had already produced but too fatal effects. Therefore, to prevent ſo great a miſchief, a treaty was concluded at *London*, ſo early as the year 1716, between the emperor and *Great Britain*, importing a guaranty of the emperor's dominions in *Italy* (lately taken from *Spain*) and an expreſs promiſe of aſſiſtance, in caſe they ſhould be invaded. With the ſame view, a *Triple Alliance* was concluded the following year at the *Hague*, by *Great Britain*, *France*, and the *United Netherlands*, by which the neutrality of *Italy* was ſettled. But neither of theſe treaties having ſupplied what was wanting to the perfection of the treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, by adjuſting the differences between the emperor and the king of *Sicily* on the one ſide, and the king of *Spain* on the other, and *Spain* having actually invaded and taken *Sardinia* from the emperor; therefore another alliance was concluded by the emperor, *Great Britain*, and *France*, and ſigned at *London*, *July* 22d, 1718, ſettling the conditions of a ſolid peace between his imperial majeſty and the king of *Spain*, and between the kings of *Spain* and *Sicily*; to which treaty the ſtates-general afterwards acceding, it was called the *Quadruple Alliance*.

Great endeavours were uſed, before the ſigning of this treaty, to diſpoſe the king of

*Spain*

*Spain* to accept the conditions therein ſettled, and to enter into it jointly with the other contracting parties: But, thoſe endeavours proving ineffectual, a ſquadron of men of war was diſpatched in the beginning of *June*, the ſame year, to the *Mediterranean*, under command of Sir *George Byng*; who, before he entered that Sea, ſent advice to the *Spaniſh* miniſter of the order he had to oppoſe the deſigns of *Spain*, if perſiſted in.

In *July*, the marquis *de Lede*, the *Spaniſh* general (who, the year before, had reduced *Sardinia* which, together with *Naples*, *Milan*, and the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, remained in the emperor's poſſeſſion) made a deſcent upon *Sicily*, which had been yielded to the duke of *Savoy* with the title of *king*.

His imperial majeſty was no ſooner appriſed of the invaſion of *Sicily*, than he ſent order to the vice-roy of *Naples*, to give all poſſible aſſiſtance to the king of *Sicily's* troops in that iſland. Accordingly, two thouſand men were immediately embarqu'd, under the command of general *Wetzel*, to reinforce the garriſon of the citadel of *Meſſina*; which troops Sir *George Byng* (who was at that time arrived with his ſquadron in the port of *Naples*) took under his convoy.

On the 26th of *July*, Sir *George* came with the tranſports off the point of *Meſſina*, and ſent captain *Saunders* on ſhoar with a letter

to

to the marquis *de Lede*, who declared, both in the conference which he had with the captain, and in the anſwer he returned to Sir *George*'s letter, That *he had no power to treat, and that he would purſue his orders, which were, to ſeize on* Sicily.

The *Spaniſh* fleet, commanded by vice-admiral *Caſtagnetta*, upon notice of the *Britiſh* ſquadron's approaching the coaſt of *Sicily*, weighed anchor, in ſome confuſion, from before *Meſſina*, and ſtood through the *Faro*. On the 30th, as Sir *George* was ſtanding in towards *Meſſina*, he received advice, that the mentioned fleet were in ſight of the *Calabrian* ſhore; upon which, he reſolved to follow them. On the approach of the *Britiſh* ſquadron, they drew into a line of battle, and ſo bore away. But the *Britiſh* admiral, obſerving their retreat, ordered four of his beſt ſailors to make what ſail they could to come up with them, himſelf following with the reſt of his ſquadron.

On the 31ſt in the morning, the fleets being pretty near each other, captain *Walton* (now Sir *George*) in the *Canterbury*, was ſent with the *Argyle* and ſix ſhips more, to follow part of the *Spaniſh* fleet, which went in with the ſhore; who coming up with them, one of the *Spaniards* fired a broad-ſide on the *Argyle*; upon which an engagement enſued. The reſt of the *Britiſh* ſquadron following the groſs of the

the *Spaniſh* fleet, the *Spaniards* fired their ſtern-chaſe at them: However, having orders not to engage, unleſs the *Spaniards* repeated their firing, they made no return at firſt. But, the *Spaniſh* ſhips firing again, the *Orford* man of war attack'd the *Santa Roſa* of ſixty guns, which, after a ſhort reſiſtance, ſtruck. The *St. Charles*, likewiſe of ſixty guns, ſtruck next, without much oppoſition, and was taken poſſeſſion of by the *Kent*. The *Prince of Aſturias* of ſeventy guns, commanded by rear-admiral *Chacon*, was ſoon after taken by the *Breda* and *Captain*. About one o'clock, the *Kent* and *Superb* engaged the *Spaniſh* admiral, called the *Royal-Philip*, and carrying ſeventy-four guns, which, with her two ſeconds, maintained a retreating fight, till about three; at which time, the *Superb* laid the admiral aboard, falling on her weather-quarter: But the admiral ſhifting her helm, and avoiding her, the *Superb* ranged up under her lee-quarter; upon which, ſhe ſtruck to her. The *Juno*, of thirty-ſix guns, was taken next by the *Eſſex*; and the *Volante* of forty-four, by the *Montague* and *Rupert*. Sir *George Byng*, in the *Barfleur*, was attack'd by two of the *Spaniards* (one of which was admiral *Guevara*) which he beat off, and purſued alone, till towards night, tho' in vain. But rear-admiral *De la-Val* chaſed, and took the *Iſabella* of ſixty guns.

In

In the mean time, captain *Walton* was deeply engaged with the other part of the *Spaniſh* fleet, of which he took a rear-admiral of ſixty guns, called the *Royal*, and commanded by the marquis *Mari*, as alſo two others of fifty-four and forty, (the latter being the ſhip that fired on the *Argyle*) and a frigate of twenty-four guns; beſides a ſhip laden with arms, and a bomb-veſſel. He likewiſe burnt one man of war of fifty-four guns, two of forty, one of thirty, a fire-ſhip, a bomb-veſſel, and a ſattee.

This fight happened off *Syracuſe*. The *Spaniſh* fleet conſiſted of twenty-ſix men of war, great and ſmall, two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, ſeven gallies, and ſeveral ſhips with ſtores and proviſions. The *Britiſh* ſquadron was compoſed of twenty-one ſhips of war, (all third and fourth rates, except one ſecond, and one fifth) two fire-ſhips, and two or three bomb-veſſels.

From the above relation it appears, that though the *Spaniards* at firſt retired in a line, yet they ſoon fell into confuſion, and ſo were attack'd by the *Britiſh* ſhips, as they could be overtaken. But, that moſt of the *Spaniſh* ſhips were attack'd by three or four, and others by ſix or ſeven at once (as is affirmed in the account publiſhed by order of the marquis *de Beretti Landi*, the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, at the *Hague*) muſt either be

owned to be falſe, or if true, it muſt be confeſs'd to reflect diſhonour on the *Spaniſh* nation: As may appear by the following remarks.

The mentioned account ſays, That ſeven ſhips of the *Britiſh* ſquadron attack'd the *Royal Philip*, about two in the afternoon; and that, at the ſame time, three others engaged the *Prince of Aſturias*: The former of which is ſaid to have made a very brave defence, till towards night; and the latter is affirmed to have fought, till ſhe was quite diſabled, and moſt of her men were loſt. If this be true, 'tis plain, that ten of the *Britiſh* ſhips were at once engaged with only two of the *Spaniards*, while (as that account owns) ſeven more were in action with the marquis *Mari* and his diviſion, conſiſting of eight men of war and frigates. But if ſo, 'tis clear, there were ſeventeen out of twenty-one *Britiſh* ſhips employed, for a conſiderable time, againſt but ten of the *Spaniards*. The query which naturally reſults from this, is, Where were then the reſt of the *Spaniſh* ſhips, that either were not yet taken, or that afterwards made their eſcape? Were the four remaining ſhips of the *Britiſh* ſquadron a match for ſo many? Or, were thoſe *Spaniards* ſo diſpirited, as to deſert their admiral, and flee, when there was ſcarce any to purſue?

But

But to proceed: In the month of *December*, war was proclaimed againſt *Spain* both by *Great Britain* and *France*, by virtue of the third ſeparate article of the laſt treaty of *London*; which obliged the contracting parties to unite againſt that prince, who refuſed to conſent to peace.

In *April*, the following year, the *French* entered *Spain* with a conſiderable army; where they ſoon made themſelves maſters of *Port-Paſſage* and *Fontarabia*. On the other ſide, the *Spaniards*, depending on the aſſiſtance of the diſaffected *Highlanders*, landed a battalion, conſiſting of about four hundred men, in *Scotland*. But, though they were joined, according to expectation, by a body of fourteen or fifteen hundred *Highlanders*, yet being attack'd by general *Wightman*, at *Glenſhil*, they were defeated, and made priſoners, after having loſt great part of their ammunition, by the taking of *Donan-Caſtle*, which was reduced by captain *Boyle* of the *Worceſter* man of war. In this battle the King's troops (according to general *Wightman*'s letter) were not above half the number of the enemy's.

The *French* army in *Spain*, headed by the duke of *Berwick*, having formed the ſiege of *St. Sebaſtian*, were aſſiſted by a *Britiſh* ſquadron, under commadore *Johnſon*. During the

ſiege, a deſign was executed againſt *St. Antonio*, a neighbouring ſea-port, by a body of *French* troops, in conjunction with ſome *Britiſh* ſailors. The troops, conſiſting of ſeven hundred and fifty men, under command of the chevalier *de Givry*, major-general, and monſieur *La Motte*, brigadier, were ſhipp'd on board ſeveral tranſports, and convoyed by the *Britiſh* ſquadron. Being arrived before the place, they found that the entrance of the harbour, which was narrow, was fortified with breaſt-works and batteries, on which were planted near fifty pieces of cannon. Therefore it was not thought adviſeable to attempt to force a paſſage, but rather to endeavour to land in a ſandy bay on the back of the town, to the weſtward of the harbour. But the roughneſs of the Sea, and the precautions uſed by the enemy (who had raiſed two batteries, and drawn down about ſix hundred men to prevent it) obliged them to go a little farther to the weſtward; where the Sea being ſomewhat ſmoother, and the enemy unprepared to receive them, they landed in a leſſer bay, without any conſiderable loſs. After the landing, two hundred *Britiſh* ſailors being joined with the ſoldiers, they marched to the *Spaniſh* batteries on the firſt mentioned bay, which they found abandoned. Here the magiſtrates of the town came

came to make their ſubmiſſion, informing them, that both the town and forts were left by the garriſon. Whereupon, entering the place, they marched ſtrait to the harbour, where were two forts, and forty-ſeven pieces of cannon planted on the mole, all loaded; which they either burſt or nailed. They then proceeded to the ſhip-yards, where they found three men of war on the ſtocks, one of ſeventy, and the others of ſixty guns each: The ſeventy-gun ſhip was deck'd, and almoſt ready for launching; but the others were not quite ſo forward. Theſe the ſailors burnt to the ground, as alſo a vaſt quantity of planks, ſufficient for the building of five or ſix men of war; and ſo the whole body returned, without loſs, to their ſhips.

The following month, (being *September*, 1719,) vice-admiral *Mighels*, with a ſquadron of men of war and tranſports, having aboard five or ſix thouſand men, commanded by the lord viſcount *Cobham*, aſſiſted at an attempt on the town of *Vigo*. The fleet entered the harbour on the 29th, and his lordſhip, with the grenadiers, being immediately landed, about three miles from the town, drew up on the beach. On the 1ſt of *October*, his lordſhip moved towards the place; upon which, the garriſon nailed the cannon, ſet fire to the carriages, and retired out of the

town into the citadel. The *Britiſh* forces immediately took poſſeſſion of the town and fort *St. Sebaſtian*, which was likewiſe abandoned by the enemy. On the third, the citadel was bombarded from a bomb-veſſel, with little execution, by reaſon of the diſtance: But the mortars being brought aſhore, to the number of forty or fifty, great and ſmall, they began to play the ſame night, and continued playing four days, with great ſucceſs. On the fourth, the battering cannon was landed, and placed in battery on fort *St. Sebaſtian:* Whereupon, the citadel being ſummoned, it ſoon ſurrendered. The garriſon which was left, conſiſting of four hundred and ſixty-nine men (officers included) marched out, according to articles, on the tenth. It appeared, that about three hundred men of the garriſon had been killed and wounded by the bombs; whereas the beſiegers had but two officers, and three or four private men killed. In the town were found about ſixty pieces of large iron cannon, and in the citadel forty-three pieces (whereof fifteen were braſs) and two large mortars; beſides two thouſand barrels of powder, and ſeveral cheſts of arms, containing about eight thouſand muskets. Theſe ſtores, and the braſs cannon, as alſo the troops in garriſon, were deſigned to have been

been employed in the invaſion of *Great Britain.* Seven ſhips were ſeized in the harbour, three of which were fitting out for privateers, one carrying twenty-four guns.

After the taking of *Vigo*, the lord *Cobham* ſent major-general *Wade*, with a thouſand men, a-board four tranſports, to the upper end of the bay, where they landed on the fourteenth, and marched to *Ponte-Vedro*, which they took poſſeſſion of, without oppoſition, the magiſtrates of the town meeting them with the keys. In the place were found two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, ſix eight pounders, and four mortars, all braſs; beſides ſeventy pieces of iron cannon, two thouſand ſmall arms, and ſome bombs: All which, except the twenty-four pounders, were embarqu'd and brought to *England.*

In the mean time, the *Britiſh* ſquadron, in the *Mediterranean*, was employed to block up the haven of *Meſſina* in *Sicily*, while an imperial army beſieged the city, by land: On which occaſion, they did great ſervice, by taking poſſeſſion of *Port-Paradiſo*, and deſtroying divers large men of war in the harbour.

Several other actions, tho' of leſs conſequence, happened on the *Spaniſh* coaſt, which was kept in continual alarm.

At laſt, the king of *Spain*, ſeeing all his meaſures diſconcerted, his ſea-ports taken, his naval force entirely broken, and his coaſts inſulted on every ſide, grew weary of the war, and diſcharged his prime miniſter, the cardinal *Alberoni*, who had been the chief projector and fomenter of it, ordering him to quit his dominions. In *January* 1720, his catholick majeſty accepted the conditions of peace propoſed to him by *Great Britain* and *France*: Upon which, a ſuſpenſion of arms, took place, between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, on the laſt of *February* following.

*FINIS.*

ERRATA.

P. 40. l. 21. *for* arain, *r.* train. p. 97. l. 4. *for* may *r.* might. p. 161. l. 24. *for* was, *r.* were. p. 203. l. 17. *r.* In which ſituation. p. 261. l. 23. *del.* winter.

# THE INDEX.


A

ACAPULCO Ship taken, *Page* 296.
*Acon* or *Ptolomais*, taken from the *Saracens*, *p*, 31.
Admiral of the South-Sea taken by *Candiſh*, *p*. 61.
*Alfred* King, his Victories over the *Danes* by Sea, *p*. 21, *&c*.
*Algerines*, defeated at Sea, *p*. 203, —— Their Ships burnt by Commadore *Beach*, *Ibid*, By Sir *Edward Sprag*, *p*. 204.
*Alicant* taken, *p*. 282.
*Amboina*, the Tragedy acted there, *p*. 83, 84.
*Analavus*, an *Iriſh* King, defeated at Sea, *p*. 26,
*Angles*, a Branch of the *Swevick* Nation, *p*. 19, Took the Name of *Saxons*, *p*, 17, Conquer'd the *Goths*, *p*. 19, Gave Original to the *Engliſh* Nation, *Ibid*.
*Annapolis Royal*, *p*. 294.
*Archangel* diſcover'd by the *Engliſh*, *p*. 56.
*Aſcough* Admiral, engages *De Ruyter*, *p*. 100, Sticks faſt on a Sand and is taken, *p*. 172.
*Athelſtan* King, his Victory over the *Iriſh* at Sea, *p*. 26.

B

*Barcelona* taken, *p*. 281.
*Barton*, a *Scotch* Pirate, kill'd and his Ships taken by two young *Engliſh* Noblemen, *p*. 49.
*Beaumont* Rear-Admiral loſt, *p*. 276.
*Bedford* Duke of, defeats the *French* in a great-Sea-fight, *p*. 46.
*Bembow* Vice-Admiral, baſely deſerted, *p*. 291.
*Berkley* Sir *William*, his extraordinary Bravery, *p*. 174.

# *The* INDEX.


*Blake* Admiral, beats *Tromp*, *p.* 95, Takes the *Dutch* Buſſes and Convoys, *p.* 99, Beats the *French*, *p.* 105, Defeats *De Witte* and *De Ruyter*, *p.* 106, Is ſurpriſed and forced to retreat, *p.* 109, Beats the *Dutch* in a Fight of three Days, *p.* 112, Helps to win the Victory near *Newport*, *p.* 125, Deſtroys the *Corſairs* of *Tunis*, *p.* 143, Takes and deſtroys the *Spaniſh* Galleons, *p.* 144.

*Boccanigra*, *Spaniſh* Admiral, defeats the *Engliſh* at Sea, *p.* 42.

*Bombay* Iſland of, *Hollanders* repuls'd there, *p.* 231.

*Breſt*, a Landing attempted near it, but without ſucceſs, *p.* 263.

*Britons* driven out by the *Saxons*, *p*, 18.

*Byng* Admiral, blocks up the *Swediſh* Fleet, *p.* 300, prevents the Pretender's Landing in *Scotland*, *p*, 286, defeats the *Spaniſh* Fleet on the Coaſt of *Sicily*, *p.* 303.

C

*Cabot Sebaſtian*, his Diſcoveries, *p* 47, Finds out the Variation of the Needle, *p.* 48.

*Cacafuego*, a rich Ship, taken by *Drake*, *p.* 58.

*Cadiz* taken and burnt, *p.* 74, attempted in vain, *p.* 85, and *p.* 271.

*Cajana*. Iſland of, taken from the *French*, *p*, 191.

*Calais* bombarded, *p.* 265, and 266.

*Candiſh* ſails round the Globe of the Earth, *p.* 61.

*Carthagena* in the *Weſt-Indies* taken and ranſom'd, *p.* 60.

—— In *Europe* taken, *p.* 282.

*Caſcais* taken, *p.* 69.

*Cette* taken, *p.* 289.

*Chatham*, *Engliſh Ships* deſtroy'd or taken there, *p.* 193.

*Comana* taken, *p.* 79.

*Conquet* burnt, *p.* 53.

*Coro* plunder'd, *p.* 79.

*Cumberland*, Earl of, his Expeditions, *p*, 77.

*Cyprus* conquer'd, *p.* 31.

D

*Danes*. When they firſt arrived in *Britain*, *p.* 9, Originally one Nation with the *Normans*, Ibid. Overrun the *Netherlands*, *p.* 20, Conquer Part of *France*, *p.* 23, Are ſaid to have been maſſacred in *England*, *p.* 28, Make themſelves Maſters of *England* thro' Treachery, *Ibid.* Are expell'd from thence, *Ibid.* Attempt to regain it, *p.* 29, Are defeated by Land and Sea, *Ibid.*

*Dartmouth*. The *French* defeated there by the Townſmen and Country People, *p.* 45.

*Davis*. His Voyage, *p.* 57,

*Dieppe* bombarded, *p.* 264.


Diſco-

# *The* INDEX.


Diſcoveries made at Sea by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 47.

Dominion of the *Britiſh* Seas. The *Engliſh* Right to it univerſally own'd, *p.* 37.

*Dowglaſs* Captain. His Heroick Bravery at *Chatham*, *p.* 195.

*Drake* Sir *Francis*. His Voyage round the Globe of the Earth, *p*, 58, His Expedition Anno, 1585, *p.* 60. His Expedition to *Cadiz*, *p.* 61, and to *Portugal*, *p.* 68, His laſt Voyage, *p.* 71.

*Dunkirk* bombarded, *p.* 265.

*Durſley* Lord, takes divers *French* Ships, *p.* 288.

*Dutch* defeated at Sea near *Jucatra* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, *p.* 83, Agree to pay for the Liberty of Fiſhing on the *Britiſh* Coaſt, *p.* 89, Very powerful at Sea. *p.* 94, Beaten by *Blake*, *p.* 95, Their Buſſes taken, *p.* 99, Defeated again by *Blake*. *p.* 106, 112, And by *Monk*, *p.* 124, 130, And by the Duke of *York*, *p.* 160, 222, They ſurpriſe *Blake* and oblige him to retire, *p.* 109, Take and deſtroy ſome *Engliſh* Ships in the *Streights*, *p.* 121, Deſtroy or take ſeveral Men of War at *Chatham*, *p.* 193, Suffer much in an Action with the *French*, *p.* 256.

E

*Eaſt-India* Company erected, *p.* 79.

*Edgar* King. His great Naval Power, *p.* 26.

*Edward* III, aſſumes the Title and Arms of *France*, *p.* 39, Entirely defeats the *French* at Sea. *p.* 39, 40, Gains wonderful Victories by Land, *p.* 40, Defeats the *Spaniſh Fleet*, *p.* 41.

*Edward* the Black Prince reſtores *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, *p.* 41.

*Egbert*, the firſt *Engliſh* Monarch, *p.* 19, Gave the Name of *England* to the South-Eaſt Part of this Iſland, *Ibid.*

*Elizabeth* Queen, Part of her Character, *p.* 79, 80.

*England*. From whence it took its Name, *p.* 19.

*Engliſh* defeat the *Danes* in ſeveral Sea-fights, *p.* 24, Beat the *Iriſh* at Sea, *p.* 26, Seize the whole *Daniſh* Fleet, *p.* 29, Beat the *Saracens* at Sea, *p.* 31. Conquer *Normandy*, *p.* 30, and *Ireland*, *Ibid.* and *Cyprus*, *p.* 31, and *France*, *p.* 46, Reſtore *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, *p.* 41, Defeat the *Spaniards* at Sea, *Ibid.* and *p.* 64, 76. And the *French*, *p.* 33, 36, 37, 39, 46, 105, 259, 278, And the *Dutch*, *p.* 83, 95, 106, 112, 124, 129, 160, 178, 222, And the *Flemings*, *p.* 42, 44, And the *Algerines*, *p.* 203, Are defeated by the *Spaniards*, *p.* 42.

*Eſſex* Earl of, His Challenge, *p.* 69.


F

# *The* INDEX.


F

*Faraon*, a City in *Portugal*, burnt, *p.* 74.
*Fayal* taken, *p.* 75, Taken a ſecond time, *p.* 77.
Flag. The right of it never given up by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 249.
*Flemings*, defeated at Sea by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 42, 44,
*Forbiſher* Sir *Martin*, his Voyages, *p.* 57.
*French*, defeated in a great Sea-fight by *Hubert de Bourg*, *p.* 33, By King *Edward* III, *p.* 36, By Admiral *Tiptot*, *p.* 37, By the Duke of *Bedford*, *p.* 39, Before *Ambleteuſe*, *p.* 51, Near *Guernſey*, *Ibid.* By *Blake*, *p.* 105, At *La Hogue*, *p.* 259, Near *Malaga*, *p.* 278, Look on while the *Engliſh* fight *p.* 222, 243, Their Land-Army routed by ſome *Engliſh* Ships, *p.* 53.
*French* Ships taken in the Road of *Leith*, *p.* 55.
*French* Iſlands plunder'd, *p.* 266.

G

*Van Galen*, a *Dutch* Admiral, gains an Advantage over the *Engliſh*, but is kill'd *p.* 121.
Galliaſſes deſcrib'd, *p.* 63.
Galleons deſcrib'd, *p.* 62, Taken or deſtroy'd by *Drake*, *p.* 61, By Admiral *Mountague*, *p.* 142, By Admiral *Blake*, *p.* 144, By Sir *George Rook*, *p.* 273, By Commadore *Wager*, *p.* 292.
*Gibraltar* taken, *p.* 277, Reliev'd, *p.* 280, and *p.* 281,
*Granville*, a Town in *France*, deſtroy'd, *p.* 265.
*Gratioſa*, Iſland of, taken, *p.* 75.
*Greenvil* Sir *Richard*, kill'd fighting bravely, *p.* 71.
*Groyn*, the lower Town taken, *p.* 68.
*Guadalupe*, a *French* Iſland, plunder'd, *p.* 267. 292.
*Guayaquil* taken, *p.* 296.
*Guinea*. *Dutch* Forts taken by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 152, Partly retaken by the *Dutch*, 155.
*Gyllenberg* Count, arreſted, *p.* 300.

H

*Hanſe* Towns, the Original of their Confederacy, *p.* 52, Sixty of their Ships taken, *p.* 70.
*Harman* Sir *John*. His Bravery in the four-days Fight, *p.* 174, Beats the *French* and *Dutch* near St. *Chriſtopher*'s, *p.* 190.
*Havre de Grace* bombarded, *p.* 264.
*Hayton* Captain, a remarkable Action of his, *p.* 139.
*Hengiſt*, a Leader of the *Saxons*, *p.* 18.

*Henry* V, King, gains immortal Honour by Land and Sea, *p.* 45.
*Heptarchy*, What, *p.* 18.
*Hiſpaniola*, Iſland of, attempted in vain, *p.* 141.
*Hopſon* Rear-Admiral, breaks the Boom at *Vigo*, *p.* 274.
*Howard* Lord *Edward*, unfortunately loſt in boarding a *French* Ship, *p.* 49.
*Howard* Lord *Thomas*, takes *Morlaix* and ravages the Coaſt of *France*, *p.* 50.
*Howard* Lord *Charles*, commands againſt the *Spaniſh Armada*, *p.* 64, Beats the *Spaniards* at *Cadiz*, *p.* 73.
*Holms* Sir *Robert*, takes *New-Netherland*, *p.* 155, as alſo ſeverol Forts on the Coaſt of *Guinea*, *p.* 151, He burns the Town of *Brandaris* and deſtroys the *Dutch* Ships in the *Vlie*, *p.* 183, He attacks the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, *p.* 209.
*Hubert de Bourg* gains a Victory over the *French* at Sea, *p.* 36.

J

*Jamaica*, taken, 142.
*Jennings* Sir *John*, behaves himſelf bravely in the Fight near *Malaga*, *p.* 278.
*Ireland* conquer'd by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 30.

K

*Kempthorn* Sir *John*, his Bravery, *p.* 204.

L

*Lancaſter John*, his Voyage, *p.* 78.
*Leak* Sir *John*, deſtroys the *French* Settlements in *Newfoundland*, *p.* 292, Relieves *Gibraltar*, *p*, 280, 281, Takes a *French* Fleet laden with Proviſions, *p.* 287.
*Leviſon* Sir *Richard*, defeats the *Spaniſh* Gallies and takes a rich Carack, *p.* 76.
*Lewis* Son of *Philip the Auguſt* of *France*, is invited to accept the Crown of *England*, *p.* 32, Is defeated both by Sea and Land, *p.* 35, 36.
*Lisbon*, the *Engliſh* take poſt in the Suburbs, *p.* 69.
*Liſle* Lord, takes the City of *Edinburgh*, and ſets it on Fire, together with *Leith* and *Hadington*, *p.* 50.

M

*Majorca* Iſland of, taken, *p.* 283.
*Manſel* Sir *Robert*, deſtroys ſeveral *Spaniſh* Gallies, *p.* 76.
*Marigalante*, a *French* Iſland, plunder'd, *p.* 267.
*Maurice* Prince, is loſt in a Hurricane, *p.* 88.
*Meſſina* in *Sicily*, ſeiz'd, *p.* 31.
*Mings* Rear-Admiral. His Bravery, *p.* 174.
*Minorca* Iſland of, taken, *p.* 287.

# *The* INDEX.


*Monk* General, beats the *Dutch* off *Newport*, *p.* 124, Beats them near the Coaſt of *Holland*, and kills *Tromp*, *p.* 130, Too boldly engages the *Dutch* Fleet, *p.* 167. Beats *De Ruyter*, *p.* 178.

*Mountague*, ſee Earl of *Sandwich*.

Mourning, the Time of wearing it limited by Proclamation in *Spain*, *p.* 67.

N

*Newis* Iſland of, plunder'd by the *French*, *p.* 295.

*Newfoundland*. *Engliſh* Settlements there ruin'd by the *French*, *p.* 268. *French* Settlements deſtroy'd by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 292.

*Nombre de Dios* taken and left, *p.* 58, taken and burnt, *p.* 72.

*Normandy*. Conquer'd by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 30.

*Norris* Sir *John*, General. His Expedition to *Portugal*, 68.

*Norris* Sir *John*, Admiral. Takes poſſeſſion of the *French* Lines near the River *Var*, *p.* 285.

North-eaſt Paſſage. When the Diſcovery was firſt attempted, *p.* 48.

North-weſt Paſſage. Who firſt attempted a Diſcovery, *p.* 57.

O

*Obdam*, Admiral of *Holland*. His Ship blown up, *p.* 161.

*Oleron*. Sea-laws compiled there, *p.* 31.

*Olonne*, a Town in *France*, bombarded, *p.* 266.

P

*Palamos* bombarded, *p.* 265.

*Petit Guavas* taken, *p.* 269, *French* Ships taken and deſtroy'd there, *p.* 292.

*Philpot* Mr. an Alderman of *London*, takes many *Spaniſh* Ships, *p.* 42.

*Pointy*, *French* Admiral eſcapes, *p.* 268, and *p.* 269, Several of his Ships taken and deſtroy'd, *p.* 280.

*Ponte Vedro* taken, *p.* 311.

*Port St. Mary*'s plunder'd, *p.* 272.

*Portugueze* Ships taken, *p.* 88.

*Port-Royal* in *Nova Scotia* taken *p.* 294.

Pretender attempts to land in *Scotland*, *p.* 286.

Q

Quadruple Alliance concluded, *p.* 301.

*Quebec*, the Capital of *Canada*, taken, *p.* 84, A Deſign againſt it miſcarries, *p.* 294.

# *The* INDEX.


R

*Raleigh* Sir *Walter*. His firſt Expedition to *Guiana*, *p.* 78, His ſecond Expedition and Death, *p.* 81.

*Rhe*, Iſland of, plunder'd by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 47, The *Engliſh* repuls'd, *p.* 85.

*Richard* I, King of *England*, ſeizes *Meſſina*, *p.* 31, Conquers *Cyprus*, *Ibid.* Beats the *Saracens* at Sea, *Ibid.* Compiles the Sea-Laws of *Oleron*, *Ibid.*

*Riman George*, his Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, *p.* 79.

*Rio de la Hacha* plunder'd and burnt, *p.* 72.

*Rook* Sir *George*, takes *Gibraltar*, *p.* 277, Beats the *French* Fleet near *Malaga*, *p.* 278.

*Rupert* Prince, commands at Sea, *p.* 234, 238, 242.

*Ruſſel*, Earl of *Orford*, defeats the *French* Fleet near *La Hogue*, *p.* 259.

*De Ruyter*, *Dutch* Admiral, his good Conduct, *p.* 176, Is inſulted by the Mob, *p.* 228.

S

*St. Antonio* taken and *Spaniſh* Ships burnt, *p.* 308.

*St. Chriſtopher*'s Iſland of, taken by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 266, Plunder'd by the *French*, *p.* 295.

*St. Domingo* (the Town) taken and ranſom'd, *p.* 60, The Iſland plunder'd, *p.* 268.

*St. Helena* taken by the *Dutch*, and retaken by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 230.

*St. Juan de Puerto Rico* taken, *p.* 78.

*St. Malo*'s bombarded, *p.* 265.

*St. Martin*'s bombarded, *p.* 266.

*Sandwich* Earl of, takes and deſtroys the Galleons, *p.* 142, Takes many *Dutch* Ships, *p.* 165, His brave Defence and Death, *p.* 219.

*Sally*, *Mooriſh* Ships burnt, *p.* 85.

*Saracens*, defeated at Sea, *p.* 31.

*Sardinia*, Iſland of, taken, *p.* 287.

*Saxons*. From whence they came into *Britain*, *p.* 1. Expert in Sea-Affairs, *Ibid.*

*Scythia*, its Extent, *p.* 16.

*Shovel* Sir *Cloudeſley*, behaves himſelf bravely, *p.* 251, 255, Is loſt, *p.* 285.

*Sluys*. The *Engliſh* defeat the *French* in the Harbour, *p.* 44.

*Southampton*, burnt by the *French*, *p.* 39, The *French* repuls'd, *Ibid.*

*Spaniſh Armada*, defeated *p.* 64.

*Spencer Henry*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, gains a great Victory at Sea, *p.* 43.

*Sprag* Admiral his Death and Character, *p.* 245.

*Surinam*, taken by the *Dutch*, *p.* 189, Retaken by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 191, Reſtored to the *Dutch* by the Treaty of *Breda*, *p.* 202.

*Monk* General, beats the *Dutch* off *Newport*, *p.* 124, Beats them near the Coaſt of *Holland*, and kills *Tromp*, *p.* 130, Too boldly engages the *Dutch* Fleet, *p.* 167. Beats *De Ruyter*, *p.* 178.

*Mountague*, ſee Earl of *Sandwich*.

Mourning, the Time of wearing it limited by Proclamation in *Spain*, *p.* 67.

N

*Newis* Iſland of, plunder'd by the *French*, *p.* 295.

*Newfoundland*. *Engliſh* Settlements there ruin'd by the *French*, *p.* 268. *French* Settlements deſtroy'd by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 292.

*Nombre de Dios* taken and left, *p.* 58, taken and burnt, *p.* 72.

*Normandy*. Conquer'd by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 30.

*Norris* Sir *John*, General. His Expedition to *Portugal*, 68.

*Norris* Sir *John*, Admiral. Takes poſſeſſion of the *French* Lines near the River *Var*, *p.* 285.

North-eaſt Paſſage. When the Diſcovery was firſt attempted, *p.* 48.

North-weſt Paſſage. Who firſt attempted a Diſcovery, *p.* 57.

O

*Obdam*, Admiral of *Holland*. His Ship blown up, *p.* 161.

*Oleron*. Sea-laws compiled there, *p.* 31.

*Olonne*, a Town in *France*, bombarded, *p.* 266.

P

*Palamos* bombarded, *p.* 265.

*Petit Guavas* taken, *p.* 269, *French* Ships taken and deſtroy'd there, *p.* 292.

*Philpot* Mr. an Alderman of *London*, takes many *Spaniſh* Ships, *p.* 42.

*Pointy*, *French* Admiral eſcapes, *p.* 268, and *p.* 269, Several of his Ships taken and deſtroy'd, *p.* 280.

*Ponte Vedro* taken, *p.* 311.

*Port St. Mary*'s plunder'd, *p.* 272.

*Portugueze* Ships taken, *p.* 88.

*Port-Royal* in *Nova Scotia* taken *p.* 294.

Pretender attempts to land in *Scotland*, *p.* 286.

Q

Quadruple Alliance concluded, *p.* 301.

*Quebec*, the Capital of *Canada*, taken, *p.* 84, A Deſign againſt it miſcarries, *p.* 294.

# *The* INDEX.


R

*Raleigh* Sir *Walter*. His firſt Expedition to *Guiana*, *p.* 78, His ſecond Expedition and Death, *p.* 81.

*Rhe*, Iſland of, plunder'd by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 47, The *Engliſh* repuls'd, *p.* 85.

*Richard* I, King of *England*, ſeizes *Meſſina*, *p.* 31, Conquers *Cyprus*, *Ibid.* Beats the *Saracens* at Sea, *Ibid.* Compiles the Sea-Laws of *Oleron*, *Ibid.*

*Riman George*, his Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, *p.* 79.

*Rio de la Hacha* plunder'd and burnt, *p.* 72.

*Rook* Sir *George*, takes *Gibraltar*, *p.* 277, Beats the *French* Fleet near *Malaga*, *p.* 278.

*Rupert* Prince, commands at Sea, *p.* 234, 238, 242.

*Ruſſel*, Earl of *Orford*, defeats the *French* Fleet near *La Hogue*, *p.* 259.

*De Ruyter*, *Dutch* Admiral, his good Conduct, *p.* 176, Is inſulted by the Mob, *p.* 228.

S

*St. Antonio* taken and *Spaniſh* Ships burnt, *p.* 308.

*St. Chriſtopher*'s Iſland of, taken by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 266, Plunder'd by the *French*, *p.* 295.

*St. Domingo* (the Town) taken and ranſom'd, *p.* 60, The Iſland plunder'd, *p.* 268.

*St. Helena* taken by the *Dutch*, and retaken by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 230.

*St. Juan de Puerto Rico* taken, *p.* 78.

*St. Malo*'s bombarded, *p.* 265.

*St. Martin*'s bombarded, *p.* 266.

*Sandwich* Earl of, takes and deſtroys the Galleons, *p.* 142, Takes many *Dutch* Ships, *p.* 165, His brave Defence and Death, *p.* 219.

*Sally*, *Mooriſh* Ships burnt, *p.* 85.

*Saracens*, defeated at Sea, *p.* 31.

*Sardinia*, Iſland of, taken, *p.* 287.

*Saxons*. From whence they came into *Britain*, *p.* 1. Expert in Sea-Affairs, *Ibid.*

*Scythia*, its Extent, *p.* 16.

*Shovel* Sir *Cloudeſley*, behaves himſelf bravely, *p.* 251, 255, Is loſt, *p.* 285.

*Sluys*. The *Engliſh* defeat the *French* in the Harbour, *p.* 44.

*Southampton*, burnt by the *French*, *p.* 39, The *French* repuls'd, *Ibid.*

*Spaniſh Armada*, defeated *p.* 64.

*Spencer Henry*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, gains a great Victory at Sea, *p.* 43.

*Sprag* Admiral his Death and Character, *p.* 245.

*Surinam*, taken by the *Dutch*, *p.* 189, Retaken by the *Engliſh*, *p.* 191, Reſtored to the *Dutch* by the Treaty of *Breda*, *p.* 202.


*Sweves*,

*Swedes*, a moſt warlike Nation, *p.* 16, 19.

T

*Thoulon* bombarded, *p.* 285.
*Tiptot Robert*, *Engliſh* Admiral, defeats the *French* at Sea, *p.* 37.
*Tobago* Iſland of, taken from the *Dutch*, *p.* 189, and 230.
*Torrington* Earl of (*Herbert*) an Account of his Conduct in a certain Engagement, *p.* 256.
*Tourville*, *French* Admiral, gains an Advantage, *p.* 256, Is defeated, *p.* 259.
Treaty of *Whitehall*, *p.* 149, Of *Breda*, *p.* 200, Of *Reſwick*, *p.* 269, Of *Utrecht*, *p.* 298, Of *London*, *p.* 301.
Triple Alliance concluded, *p.* 205.
*Tripoli*. Corſairs burnt by Sir *John Narborough*, *p.* 251.
*Tromp Martin*, *Dutch* Admiral, kill'd, *p.* 131.
*Tunis*. Corſairs deſtroy'd by *Blake*, *p.* 143.

U

*Umfreville* Sir *Robert*, ravages the Coaſt of *Scotland*, and burns the Capital Ship of that Kingdom, *p.* 45.

V

Variation of the Needle, by whom diſcover'd, *p.* 48.
*Vigo*. *French* and *Spaniſh* Ships taken and burnt there, *p.* 274, Taken, *p.* 310.
*Vlie*. *Dutch* Ships burnt there, *p.* 183.

W

*Wager* Sir *Charles*, takes and deſtroys ſome *Spaniſh* Galleons, *p.* 292.
*Walton* Sir *George*, aſſiſts in defeating the *Spaniards* on the Coaſt of *Sicily*, *p.* 305.
*Wheeler* Sir *Francis*, loſt in a Storm, *p.* 263.
*William* of *Normandy*, claim'd the Crown of *England* as his Right, *p.* 12, Never aſſumed the Title of *Conqueror*, *Ibid.*
*Winter William* Captain, Defeats the *French* near *Guernſey*, *p.* 51.
*De Wit John*, contrives the Affront at *Chatham*, *p.* 191, Is murther'd together with his Brother at the *Hague*, *p.* 228.

Y

*York* Duke of, is ſucceſsful againſt the *Dutch* at Sea, *p.* 160, and *p.* 222.
*Yvica* Iſland of, taken, *p.* 283.

B L